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REGIONAL AFFAIRS

GCC ASSISTANT SECRETARY INTERVIEWED

London AL-TADAMUN in Arabic 15-21 Jun 85 pp 21-22

[Interview with Ibrahim al-Subhi, GCC assistant secretary for political affairs, by Husayn Karim; in Riyadh, date not specified]

[Text] On the fourth anniversary of the establishment of the Gulf Cooperation Council, as it stands at the threshold of its 5th year, the experiment of Gulf cooperation stands before political turns in the road which have been sharpened by the Gulf region's having been subjected to security shocks having the stamp of intimidation, and which foreshadow dangerous developments that threaten the stability and security of the Council states. These bends constitute a challenge that will put the Gulf Cooperation Council and its states to the greatest test.

AL-TADAMUN met with Ibrahim al-Subhi, the assistant secretary for political affairs of the Gulf Cooperation Council, at the headquarters of the Council secretariat in Riyadh to discuss the most important milestones that the experiment of Gulf cooperation has passed, and the political and security pitfalls that have accompanied them, in addition to feeling out the dangers that the region may face in view of the increasing waves of terror against it, which are intended at times to frighten it, and at others to rob it. Herein follows the text of the conversation:

[Question] If we were to take stock on the fourth anniversary of the establishment of the Gulf Cooperation Council, would those years be considered to have enriched the inventory of the Gulf experiment?

[Answer.] First of all, allow me to thank the magazine AL-TADAMUN for its help in explaining the goals of the Cooperation Council, and following its activities one after the other.

In answer to your question, I would not be inclined to call the establishment of the council an "experiment", because it is an actual course of action that touches upon the reality of the region and its circumstances, and it also benefits from previous experiments, so what is said that it being one of the examples of collective action or joint action in the various spheres of Arab action is true. But regarding evaluation, I cannot offer an evaluation in the

scientific sense, because evaluation requires a long period of time, and the period of time through which the Gulf Cooperation Council has passed has been a critical one during which it faced many international, Arab and regional situations. However, it was a fruitful period, a period of laying the foundation during which the first bricks of this action were laid, and the concepts of the Cooperation Council subsequently established, not in the mind of the people of the region, nor in the Arab world, but rather their establishment was international more than it was regional or Arab, because most of the political bets tended to be on the Arabs' inability to do anything for themselves, and it was said that they were unable to unify themselves, and that they were unable to participate in joint action. The Cooperation Council was a response to these bets, since it has become a reality and an indisputable fact. Therefore, this period through which the Cooperation Council has passed, aside from the economic and political circumstances that have encompassed it, has seen accomplishments that the Gulf citizens can be proud of, because the Cooperation Council is a shining example that can be emulated in the Arab world.

[Question] May we know what are the most important accomplishments that were achieved during the period?

[Answer] In addition to establishing the concept of joint action, the Cooperation Council played a part in many of the political issues, whether on the regional level, such as the Iraq-Iran war, or on the national level, such as the Palestinian question, and it had a part in the problem of Lebanon in addition the Palestinian split. It continues to play a positive and effective role in fateful Arab issues. It also played a part in reviving the spirit of dialogue in Arab intellectual gatherings, and reviving the concept of joint Arab action. It also played a part in many of the issues on the international scene. I do not wish to go into details, but what can be said is that the Cooperation Council has become an accomplished fact within every political meeting, and it has imposed itself within every Arab and Gulf home. We do not say that to boast or brag, but it is an accomplished fact.

[Question] These accomplishments are comprehensive, but what I meant by my question was to find out what goals of a purely Gulf nature had been accomplished.

[Answer] Without a doubt, the most important accomplishment has been the economic agreement, though this agreement remains tantamount to something frozen solid, since it has not been translated into reality. There is much that has been done; for example, the essential structure has been built for trading, industrial and agricultural economic activity. In the area of customs, custom tariffs on national products have been removed, and the better, wider and easier flow of locally produced goods is under study. Now joint projects at official and private levels are being considered, and a study is underway in the Gulf Investment Organization headquartered in Kuwait to find out which projects have economic feasibility, and which would create a unified economic market and create also a kind of economic prosperity in the region. There are also restrictions on industries and their distribution so that there will not exist redundancies in industrial projects, and therefore a study is underway to lay down a broad trade base. In the field of aviation, a study is underway to lay down broad formulas for cooperation, and the situation is the

same in the field of banking and exchange, etc. All this was realized in the shadow of an economic recession resulting from the drop in oil prices. This recession does not include the region alone, but also the whole world. When it is said that the Cooperation Council was established under very difficult circumstances, financially, economically and politically speaking, that saying is to a great extent correct. In spite of that, the Cooperation Council is trying to work on two pivotal issues: the first one is embodied in the attempt to get out of the economic crisis that the region is passing through, and the second is concerned with how economic prosperity might be created in the region after the current economic situation has been left behind.

[Question] Many changes have occurred in the region since the Cooperation Council was established. Have these changes prevented the fulfillment of some of the desired goals?

[Answer] I cannot say they prevented, but they had an effect one way or another, not on the fulfillment of the goals, but rather on the speed with which they were achieved. As I mentioned before, the economic recession is one of the changes that affected the development plans and other ambitious projects that Council states had intended to carry out. We do not forget that some Council states depend totally, almost 100 percent, on oil revenues. Therefore, we can say that oil is the prime mover of the economies of the Council states, and subsequently they can be affected by reductions in its prices.

[Question] What has become of the security agreement among Council states, in light of the serious events that some of the states in the region are experiencing?

[Answer] Let us ask, first of all, what is meant by the security agreement, and what do we want out of it? Do we want just items written on paper, or just coordination, in the sense that can we look at the security agreement as one of the outward aspects of cooperation, or do we look at it as the essence? If we were to look at the agreement spiritually speaking, then the spirit of cooperation exists among the states of the region, and it is in fact that which now governs security cooperation. That which governs security cooperation among the states in the region is the feeling that there is a common danger that threatens these states on the one hand, and threatens world security, considering that this region is one of the world's important and sensitive regions, on the other. Therefore, if we look at the agreement spiritually speaking, then that spirit is present, and cooperation occurs almost daily, and we feel it through the coordination that occurs among the security organs of the Council states. The object of the agreement is to create a security framework and set it within a legal formula. Creating a framework is being done through the committees working in these areas. Thus it is clear to us that what we want is a practical security agreement and not one that might conflict with local reality, or that might conflict with specific circumstances within some country. The truth is that the importance given to the agreement was exaggerated, and I will say frankly that the agreement was "wronged", because it was looked at as something solid without a spirit. Therefore, I will say that what was wanted out of the security agreement was the exchange of information between the Council states and awareness of where danger and threats existed.

[Question] Do you believe that the assassination attempt against the amir of Kuwait had to do with the Iraq-Iran war, or was it a prelude to more serious events?

[Answer] What goes on in the Gulf region and the Arab region is political and security "labor pains" that are possibly one of the outcomes of the war and its continuation, or possibly a reflection of the current Arab situation. Both the Palestinian question and the problem of Lebanon must be taken into consideration. It might also be an international plot, since terrorism has begun to get worse and take on serious dimensions in all countries of the world, not just in this region. It could be that the alarm bells are being heard in the region more than elsewhere because danger is new to it. The people of the region, with their good nature and quite, simple lifestyle, are not used to this type of terror. Therefore, we see that this terrorism has begun to take on serious dimensions because of its threat to the security and stability of the region. I believe that if the war between Iraq and Iran goes on, and the Arab situation continues as it is, there could be other unexpected outcomes and repercussions.

[Question] How would you evaluate the role of the Cooperation Council with regard to efforts to find solutions to the Iraq-Iran war, the Lebanese crisis, and the Middle East crisis?

[Answer] To begin with, if we look at the Iraq-Iran war, we see that the Cooperation Council stands where many of the sides that are trying to put an end to this war stand. We have tried to get action along with the Islamic conference organization, the nonaligned nations, the United Nations and the nations that have effective influence over the war and its course. We have also tried directly, whether by sending delegations, or through prominent and important personalities that have effective political influence over the course of events, and perhaps there are some encouraging signs of an end to this war.

With respect to the Lebanese crisis, in addition to repeated appeals envoys have been sent, the latest of whom was an envoy from the state of Kuwait bearing a letter from its amir to Syrian President Hafiz al-Asad.

As for the Middle East question, contacts among Arab nations on its account aimed at finding the best solutions appropriate to it have never stopped for a single moment.

[Question] What do you hope to achieve in the 5th year of the council in the area of Gulf rapprochement?

[Answer] We hope to continue with planned efforts to achieve more goals, and we hope that the 5th year will be a new stage in cooperation based on the rich store of ideas that have crystalized during the past years and which have strengthened relations between the Council states and the nations of the world, and among the citizens themselves, since there have come to be deeper

connections and a broader awareness of the human and cultural potential of the region. We in our turn will try to strengthen the capabilities of intellectuals and educated people and even of the ordinary citizen in order to increase the intermeshing of interests among the citizens of the Council states.

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CSO: 4404/390

REGIONAL AFFAIRS

COOPERATION COUNCIL PLANS TO COMBAT MARITIME FRAUD

Paris AL-MUSTAQBAL in Arabic 22 Jun 85 p 44

[Text] The overwhelming concern of merchants in the Arab Gulf states is the economic stagnation which is expected to get worse, though the prevailing belief had been that it would begin to disappear this year. Their other concern is the international fraud to which they fall victim, and which is no longer limited to just the sea, but also includes land and air.

Gulf mercantile groups have expended intense efforts on the international scene to get the nations of the world to agree to a series of international measures protecting merchants from fraud, but the industrial nations, and primarily the United States, believe that such measures would restrict international trade, and also that international piracy has been around for a long time, going back more than 6,000 years, and can be stopped only by the merchants' wits.

It seems that the Gulf nations were content to work within their own sphere to combat piracy, which last year cost the world more than a billion dollars and costs the Gulf nations the equivalent of \$100 million annually. Therefore, the general secretariat of the Cooperation Council has prepared a regional agreement to combat piracy, fraud, deception, and maritime cheating among Council nations, which are: Saudi Arabia, Kuwait, the Emirates, Qatar, Bahrain and Oman.

The agreement is extremely important, not only to Gulf merchants but also to Arab merchants.

Here are some of its more important articles:

--Member nations will carefully examine a ship's papers when it docks at and leaves their ports in order to verify the truth of statements pertaining to the ship's voyage, loading and unloading operations, and the goods that it carries.

--Member nations will direct importers and exporters to deal with national shipping companies and regular shipping lines that have a good reputation and

that have an authorized agent in the country to which the goods are being shipped, and to avoid open registry fleets and leased ships.

--Member nations will ask the private sector not to load goods onto ships that are more than 15 years old, as long as they are not classified and meeting safety requirements.

--The member nations will not allow the carrier, the ship's owner, the provider or the captain to sell goods in whole or in part in any of the ports belonging to Council states.

--Member nations will urge its citizens to do the following:

1. Insure their goods with a local insurance company, that will in turn verify that the merchandise is in accordance with specifications and stipulations when it is packed and loaded.
2. Not accept bills of lading issued by the lading agent or the ship's agent, unless they have been signed by the lader and the captain, and the ship has been sealed as indicated in the consignment statement.
3. Get a statement from the buying importer issued by the chamber of commerce in his area stating that he is a member of the chamber and one of those known to deal in the commodity being agreed upon.
4. Encourage insurance companies and banks to get a certificate of search and inspection from one of the internationally recognized companies when the goods are packed and loaded onto the vessel, certifying that the merchandise is in accordance with the specifications and statements appearing in the price declaration and the original invoice.
5. Member nations will observe the following:
 - a. Not to register any vessel while it is carrying goods.
 - b. Not to transfer ownership or change the name of any empty vessel in the Council state during a voyage, until after it has been verified that it has not committed any acts of piracy, fraud, deception, or maritime cheating.
 - c. At the request of one of the member nations, every member nation has the right to detain any vessel within its jurisdiction when there is strong proof in the requesting nation that this vessel has committed acts of piracy, fraud, deception or maritime cheating against its natives or legal residents. The ship's detention will be the responsibility of the nation requesting the detention, and the requesting nation must initiate legal proceedings within a period not exceeding 3 days. The detained vessel may resort to the courts in matters pertaining to frozen food products, on condition that the insured present all necessary documents showing the date of production and fitness, accompanied by a government certificate from the place of origin stating that the transported goods are fit for human consumption.
 - d. The member nations will strive, directly or through agents, to deter deception and maritime cheating by cooperating with Interpol and with shipping

offices in London and Piraeus in Greece and other offices that are concerned with pursuing those who illegally seize ships and goods, and arresting them and imposing deterrent penalties on them..

e. The member nations will work to have a percentage of the senior officers and crews on its ships be citizens of the flag state or Council States. Each percentage will be determined according to the laws and systems of the flag state.

f. Through their chambers of commerce, the member nations will ask their private sectors to see that authorizations include the names of the regular shipping lines on which the merchandise is to be loaded, and that regular shipping lines or their authorized agents verify bills of lading accompanied by their stamps, and the bank should verify the validity of the carrier's stamp, and confirm that the bills are in accordance with the terms of the authorization.

g. Member nations must not allow any foreign vessel to enter their ports unless it has a local official agent.

From this agreement it is clear that the experts who set down the agreement are concentrating on the following details:

--The need to complete importation and loading documents, and to verify them through banks, insurance companies, and chambers of commerce, for in most cases maritime fraud happens to merchants who are ignorant of these and other documents.

--The other thing is to avoid the selling of ships along with their cargoes by dealing with well-known national or international companies regardless of how high their rates are, and to avoid dealing with shipping companies that do not have a history of dealing with Gulf nations.

--However, preventing acts of selling ships with their cargoes must not be limited to the Gulf nations alone, rather it must be imperative for all nations without exception, otherwise the effectiveness of the agreement will remain limited.

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REGIONAL AFFAIRS

BRIEFS

THIRD WORLD DEBT--Abu Dhabi--Third World long- and medium-term indebtedness increased at the end of 1983 to over \$580 billion compared with \$75 billion in 1973, said an Arab League economic report released yesterday. The figures indicate a 673 percent increase against an annual rise of 20 percent during the previous decade, the report on international economic developments noted. Easy term loans and other credit facilities continued to shoot up since 1975 until it reached 14 percent in 1975 and moved up to 25 percent four years later. During the period 1979-1982, the volume of indebtedness dropped slightly despite an increase on interest rates from 6.2 percent in 1979 to 8.9 percent in 1980, the report said. The improvement was attributed to the better prices fetched by Third World exports. The situation in developing countries started to deteriorate early in the 80's when the economic decline in the industrialized West reached its worst, dealing a heavy blow on Third World export proceeds, the report said. The indebtedness increase registered 250 percent in Latin America, 150 percent in the African continent and slightly less than 100 percent in Asia. [Text] [Manama GULF DAILY NEWS in English 17 Jul 85 p 14 GF]

ARAB FUND LOANS--Abu Dhabi--Loans granted by the Arab Monetary Fund [AMF] for balance of payments support to Arab states dropped sharply in 1984, the AMF's report said. The fund granted loans to Morocco, Somalia, South Yemen, North Yemen and Sudan totalling 18.5 million Arab accounting dinars (Aad's) in 1984. In 1983, loans totalled 84.7 million. Total withdrawals amounted to 18.1 million Aad's against 97.2 million in 1983, the report said. It attributed the decline to grace periods on repayment of previous loans and non-performance of others. It said several nations also reached lending limits at the end of 1983. The AMF was set up in 1977 on the lines of the International Monetary Fund to help poorer Arab states. [Text] [Manama GULF DAILY NEWS in English 16 Jul 85 p 11 GF]

ARAB INDUSTRIAL DEVELOPMENT--Abu Dhabi--The Arab Organization for Industrial Development [AOID] has proposed the setting up of 266 joint industrial projects in various Arab countries over the next

five years. According to an AOID report, the total cost of the projects is estimated at \$2.41 billion. They include 104 ventures for consumer goods, 10 for petrochemicals, 14 for food products, 70 for construction materials and four for steel. Noting that 22 of the proposed projects should receive priority, in accordance with a resolution by the Arab Conference for Economic Development held in Damascus, Syria, last year, the report says only three contracts have been signed for feasibility studies. These involve a \$450 million steel plant with an annual production capacity of 200,000 tons, a \$175 million telephone factory and a mobile crane plant. [Excerpt] [Manama GULF DAILY NEWS in English 16 Jul 85 p 11 GF]

CSO: 4400/207

ISLAMIC AFFAIRS

MUSLIM WORLD LEAGUE DENOUNCES CALLS TO POLITICIZE PILGRIMAGE

LD242150 Riyadh Domestic Service in Arabic 2000 GMT 24 Jul 85

[Text] The secretary general [not further identified--FBIS] of the Muslim World League has denounced the call, reported by news agencies, an Islamic leader of one of the Islamic countries has made to turn this year's pilgrimage season in the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia into demonstrations against some countries and for the pilgrimage to assume political dimensions.

The secretary general has appealed to those making this false call to adhere to the words of God, may He be glorified and revered [words indistinct]. House to be a place of visitation for the people and an sanctuary.

Anyone who calls for holding demonstrations in this sacred country contravenes the order of God, may He be glorified and revered, who has made this country a visitation and a sanctuary for the people. Muslims are aware that God, may He be glorified and revered, ordered pilgrims to worship Him alone, and ordered Muslims through His (?rules) to keep away from any matter that will disrupt the security of pilgrims or cause them harm or preoccupy them from fully devoting themselves to worshipping Him. The Almighty says: The pilgrimage is well-known; whosoever undertakes the duty of pilgrimage will not go into his womenfolk nor indulge in ungodliness and disputes in the pilgrimage. The Prophet, God's blessing and grace be upon him, says: He who attends the pilgrimage, [words indistinct], he returns to [be as pure as--FBIS] when his mother gave birth to him.

The secretary general of the Muslim World League reminds the (?children) of the All Merciful, to adhere to the rules and the customs of the pilgrimage and not to commit any action that will disrupt calm and security and [word indistinct] and will turn the pilgrimage into an arena for political and sectarian disputes.

The league supports the steps of the Government of the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia to ensure the freedom of all Muslims to reach the holy places and what it is doing to maintain security and safety for the guests of the blessed house of God and to surround them with calm and order which are necessary for them to fulfill their rites.

EGYPT

LEFTIST GROUPING PARTY HOLDS SECOND GENERAL CONFERENCE

Muhyi-al-Din Re-elected Party Secretary

Cairo AL-AHALI in Arabic 3 Jul 85 p 6

[Text] Upon the conclusion of the activities of the Grouping Party's second general conference, after the conference had given agreement to its concluding statement, the election of party leaders for the coming term began. As soon as the chairmanship of the conference declared that the nominations to position of secretary general were open, the chamber reverberated with an intense clapping and its cries shouted out the name of Khalid Muhyi-al-Din. During this applause, Lutfi Wakid presented himself and spoke to the members of the conference, declaring his nomination of Khalid Muhyi-al-Din, the man who had built the party and led it bravely and wisely during the most difficult of circumstances, continuing his long struggle for the sake of democracy, unity and justice. Although the conference sustained its support of the nomination, Dr Rif'at al-Sa'id, secretary of the central committee, said that the proper measures had to be carried out and declared that the door to nomination to the position of secretary general was open to anyone who wanted to offer himself or others as a candidate. When no one presented himself for nomination, the process of taking the votes for Khalid Muhyi-al-Din's candidacy began, and the conference voted unanimously, without abstentions, to Khalid Muhyi-al-Din's election. In the midst of the conference's applause and shouts, Khalid Muhyi-al-Din came forward and made a brief statement in which he thanked the conference for its confidence and made a pledge with the conference members, the party members and its friends to continue the struggle, with the party and within its ranks, for the sake of a nation liberated from subordination, the presence of parasites and corruption and a nation liberated from fragmentation, Zionism and tyranny!

The conference began its activities at 1000 hours last Thursday morning by electing the chairmanship of the conference. Khalid Muhyi-al-Din then made a comprehensive speech in which he reviewed the lessons and phenomena of the 5 years which had elapsed since the holding of the first conference. Three supplementary reports, on the domestic and Arab situation and the party structure, were then reviewed. The conference split up after that into four committees, the political committee, the committee on party structure, the committee on the bill and the AL-AHALI committee. The activities of the

committees continued up to the late hours of Thursday evening, when each committee chose a group to draw up a report on its discussions and recommendations. The committee reports were presented to the conference at its second general session, which was held Friday morning, and the members dealt with it through discussion.

In the Friday evening session, the procedures for the election of party leaders began with the election of the secretary general. The secretary general then declared that the conferences of the governorates had elected 180 members nominated by the central committee and that there were 45 vacant seats, which the conference would elect in addition to the chairmanship of the conference, [consisting of] 15 members. 'Abd-al-Ghaffar Shukr, a conference member, objected to the approach of expanding the members of the central committee from 200, as in the past session of the conference, to 240, but he did not present his recommendation to a vote, contenting himself with recording it. After the door to the nominations was opened, 93 members presented themselves as candidates. The elections were held by secret vote and three committees were formed to do the counting. They continued their activity throughout the night, in the presence of candidates' delegates, and finished it a few hours before the start of the meeting of the new central committee, which met at 1000 hours Saturday morning, electing the secretariat general and the central secretariat.

Muhyi-al-Din Delivers Opening Speech

Cairo AL-AHALI in Arabic 3 Jul 85 pp 6, 10

[Text] Khalid Muhyi-al-Din opened the Grouping's second general conference with an important speech. The secretary general said that the conference was not a completion of formalities but rather a necessary stand vis-a-vis the people, preparatory to the attainment of a quantum leap in the party's work. The secretary general reviewed the Grouping's struggle in the domestic and Arab contexts in the 4 years which had elapsed since the holding of its first conference, stressing the solidity of the party and its principles. He said that the conference bore testimony to the internal democracy of the party and that its task was to draw up a sound policy for the party's struggle during the coming years. The secretary general reviewed the circumstances of the domestic and foreign deterioration which characterized current conditions in Egypt and the Arab nation and pointed out that that laid a burden on the Grouping which it could carry out in the light of the positive manifestations which had appeared on the stage, including the Egyptian people's continuation of the struggle for the sake of their social and democratic rights, the fall of Numayri's regime, the defeat of the United States in Lebanon, the withdrawal of Israel from Lebanon in confrontation with the heroic struggle of its people and the victory of the Democratic Grouping in Kuwait. The secretary general defined five domestic and four national tasks for the party's struggle in the coming stage.

This is the text of the secretary general's speech at the opening of the conference:

Lady and gentlemen colleagues, members of the second conference of the party:

We are meeting today a few months after the beginning of the 10th year of life of our party, the oldest of the parties on the Egyptian stage now, so that together through the party's second general conference we can begin to sketch out our road in the coming years.

The convening of the conference is not just an execution of the bill of the party's bylaws or the completion of formalities but basically a necessary stand vis-a-vis the people, preparatory to the attainment of a quantum leap in the activity of the party, moving on from one stage which you have the right to be proud of, through the efforts you have offered in the course of it on behalf of the nation and the people and on behalf of your party in its capacity as a fighting battalion in the ranks of the democratic national movement in Egypt and the Arab and international liberation movement, evaluating and observing its positive and negative features and exercising criticism and self-criticism, to a new stage, which is a continuation of the previous stage on the one hand and on the other a transcending of it, in the course of which we will rid ourselves as much as possible of flaws and mistakes and move on to a more advanced stage of struggle.

The Struggles During the 5 Years

Brother and sister members of the conference:

The first general conference of the party was held on 10 April 1980. It issued the general program, the bill on the bylaws and many political and organizational resolutions which defined our goals in the past years. I do not imagine that I need to remind you of the most important resolutions of the first general conference, but it would be useful for us all to cast a rapid glance at the struggles the Grouping has waged in the past 5 years in execution of the resolutions of the first general conference, in commitment to the party's program.

Our mass and democratic struggles occupied the central position in the party struggle during the past period, under the aegis of the regime of the former president, Anwar al-Sadat, and the current presidency.

A few days after the holding of the conference, in the month of May 1980, the law to protect values from impropriety and the state security courts law were issued, turning this type of exceptional court, which was related to the state of emergency, into permanent courts and also allowing two military persons to be added to its structure. The law on suspicion was issued and a referendum was held on amending the constitution to add articles bearing on the establishment of what was called the Consultative Assembly and the press authority and granting permission for the re-election of the president to successive terms.

The Journalists' Union was exposed to a campaign of trivialization aimed at turning it into a club, and the authorities used every means to strike out at the Lawyers' Union and its legitimate elected council. The government intervened in an uncouth manner in the elections to the Judges' Club.

The government continued its policy, which was called the security crack-down, embodied in the launching of successive police raids against

opposition political forces; the members of the Grouping received the main thrust of these in September 1980, March 1981, September 1981 and October 1981. It resumed the practice of torture in the prisons and penitentiaries and pushed the nation to the brink of danger through its encouragement of the elements of factional strife whose presence loomed over the society in a manner which threatened national unity once again.

In confronting this tide of hostility to democracy, the Grouping waged numerous battles for democracy, stood up to the laws and measures hostile to democracy in every manner, embarked on a brave struggle against torture, the violation of human rights and fraudulent referenda and relections, defended the Lawyers' Union, the Journalists' Union and the freedom of the judiciary, called for the organization of the masses and ordinary classes in democratic entities, succeeded in establishing the Federation of Egyptian Peasants and the committees for the defense of the public sector, stood alongside the struggle of the working class, supported its right to strike, exposed the game of the Consultative Assembly and elections by party lists by boycotting the elections to it, and stood alongside the peasants in their struggles to defend a stable, proper relationship between landowners and tenants and against the expulsion of peasants from the land.

It launched the struggles of the supplementary and general elections, presented its program, its leaders and its members to the masses, participated in deepening their awareness of its plan through its connection with their interests and the interconnection between the issues of democracy and the nation's independence and prosperity and exposed the government's fraud in the People's Assembly elections last year.

Lady and gentleman colleagues:

The struggle for democracy has never been separated from our economic, social and national struggles.

The Grouping has challenged the resumption of foreign concessions, the policy of liberalization, the dominance of parasitism and corruption, the attempts to liquidate the public sector, the planned and spontaneous increases in order to raise prices and economic policies which have led Egypt to overall crisis and it has defended the producers and the ordinary classes, especially the workers, peasants and government employees.

The Grouping has led the struggle to defend national independence and has confronted the American-Israeli-al-Sadatist alliance, the attempt to establish a military base (Ra's Banas) and normalization with the Israeli enemy, and our struggles in the course of the bookfair against the Israeli enemy's participation in it since February 1981, against Navon's visit, and on behalf of the support of the Palestinian revolution and the Lebanese people in confronting the Israeli aggression and the invasion of Lebanon are still alive in everyone's minds.

The Grouping's struggle, brothers, is a long unending sequence, and space will not allow for the recitation of it, but we have hoped, through these rapid references to some of our party's victories, to summarize together the most important lessons of this stage, at the forefront of which are:

The solidity and continuation of the party's struggle, no matter what the necessary sacrifices might be.

Commitment and adherence to principles without neglecting or ignoring reality.

I do not imagine that I need to remind you of the brave position the leadership of the party has taken. There were 15 colleagues in prison in October 1981 when the masses called for a "no" vote in the referendum on the nomination of President Husni Mubarak as president, after he declared that he was submitting himself for referendum in al-Sadat's manner.

However, the most important lessons which the struggles and battles of this stage have revealed are the need for the Grouping's formulation and presence on behalf of the struggle of the Egyptian national democratic movement.

All the detachments which took part in establishing and developing the Grouping and firmly implanting its steps in the actual conditions of Egypt have realized that their power and the power of the Grouping depend on acceptance of what is common to them all, and that it is not possible for any detachment, no matter what its strength and influence in the society or the Grouping may be, to impose its view in full.

In addition, they have become convinced that what is common to them all, in principles and goals, is so broad and deep that it is possible confidently to state that their convergence, in the context of the formulation of the Grouping, is one based on principle, not just an opportunistic alliance which transitory circumstances have dictated, and that is the secret of the strength, influence and cohesion of the Grouping.

A Testimony to Democracy

Lady and gentleman colleagues, members of the second general conference:

Our coming to the moment when the second general conference is held is a testimony to the internal democracy which governs our party and which we have the right to be proud of. No party on the Egyptian stage has succeeded in realizing the dialogue and internal democratic platform we have accomplished in the process of preparing for this conference.

The party has participated at all levels in preparing the documents the central committee presented to this conference.

All the party's committees and conferences in the villages, sections, districts and precincts have witnessed broad discussions regarding these documents, in which the members of the secretariat general took part.

Nineteen issues have emerged from the realm of the dialogue, publishing everything the colleagues have said concerning the issues of dispute in the party and the reports presented to the conference.

A general committee for elections and branch committees in the governorates supervised the holding of elections from the basic units up to the general

assembly, which accommodated all competent persons and tendencies in order to guarantee free, clean elections.

All resolutions were adopted by agreement or by the acceptance by the minority of the majority's resolutions, in full satisfaction, confirming the unity of the Grouping.

The elections to the general conference in the basic units, precincts and governorates were held with complete democracy, and, in places which witnessed heated electoral campaigns, the results came about to emphasize the democratic spirit of the Grouping.

Lady and gentleman colleagues:

Has our work been without shortcomings or errors?

Of course not. In the course of the journey, we have succumbed to a number of mistakes and our progress has revealed many shortcomings. Perhaps the report presented by the central committee to the conference and the bold self-criticism of all aspects of party activity it contained will exempt me from repeating them, so that we can move on together to a discussion of the future.

The Possibilities of Deterioration

Our conference's basic task is to deduce a sound political policy for our party's struggle in the next 4 years which will be a model for the central committee's work in the period between the two conferences and will allow all the party's powers to be unleashed in constant, organized activity along with all Egyptian and Arab national and democratic forces to face the extreme dangers looming over Egypt and the Arab nation during this period.

Let me point out to you that our conference is being held under circumstances of the utmost gravity and delicacy in the domestic, nationwide and international contexts. Let me point out that our conference's basic role is not to inundate one in theoretical analysis of the nature of Egyptian society or the prevalent conditions in the Arab nation or the world as a whole; rather, we should transcend all that to deduce a policy for the party's future struggle and define the policies which must be followed and the tasks holding priority which will permit the broadest masses of the people to gather around it and to be mobilized on the basis of it: these alone, if their struggle is intensified, will be able to prevent further deterioration in the conditions of Egypt and the Arab nation and pave the way for important changes in the direction of building a better future in which the Arab nation will be liberated from subordination and exploitation and in which a unified, independent Arab nation will be built on democratic bases in which the exploitation of man by man will be eliminated.

At the beginning, we can state that after 3 years of President Mubarak's regime, regardless of intentions and desires, the past years have underlined:

Egypt's continued subjection to the tentacles of subordination to the United States of America, the government's failure to carry out the partial, modest measures in some aspects of economic life which it attempted at the beginning of this year, its disgraceful retreat and subjugation to the demands of the parasitic classes and those elements in it which are the most savage and hostile to the masses of the people, the tremendous setback which has afflicted the dream of the conversion to democracy after the commission of fraud in the People's Assembly elections in May 1984, the monopolization by the right wing of the power of legislation and the executive power and the accelerated organization by the right wing of its ranks in numerous forms and manners, from the political party to the societies of financiers and businessmen, leagues and federations, in order to impose total dominance on decisionmaking authority.

A glance at conditions in Egypt will reaffirm that we are facing great possibilities of further deterioration and decline in the conditions of our society.

There is first of all the possibility of the continued rapid deterioration in the standard of living of the masses of the people as a result of the escalation of the severity of the economic crisis, the continuation of the policy of making the masses of the people bear the burdens for it and the danger of being compelled, in the context of the increasing crisis, to submit totally to the conditions of the International Monetary Fund, with all the destructive effects that will lead to in the framework of the life of the ordinary classes and the intermediate groups.

There is second of all the escalation of folly and fanaticism, the increase in the threat of factional struggle and an increase in violence. The manifestations of religious differentiation which are stressed every day by more than one means in our society, which lived in a state of unity for more than 14 centuries, are the preludes to the transfer of the virus of factional fragmentation to Egypt, now that it has become dominant in other Arab countries.

There is third of all an increase in the intensity of the subordination to international capitalism and to the United States of America specifically, especially in the two areas of food and weapons procurement. The stagnation in grain production, along with the constant increase in the population, imposes greater subordination in respect to food, in a manner destroying national independence and almost eliminating the possibilities for independent decisionmaking. In addition, reliance on the United States for the acquisition of arms and the training and military ideology that are connected to that put the issue of the defense of the nation in the hands of the United States of America and its ally Israel.

These probable developments all threaten the limited democratic rights which our people have been able to extract through their constant, stubborn struggle. These dangers pave the way for the possibilities of the deterioration of existing conditions or the control of a military, religious or military-religious dictatorship over power and government, which would totally eliminate any democratic gains it has been possible to realize and totally destroy the rights of the Egyptian people.

In addition, the uplifting of the value of individual gain, whatever its source might be, leads to the dissolution of moral and productive values and shatters many of the human relations which have protected our people throughout their history, which has been replete with sufferings and foreign pillage.

There has been Israel's nearly complete withdrawal from southern Lebanon in the face of the armed Lebanese national resistance in which all the forces, parties and inhabitants of the south, Moslems and Christians, the Syrian National Socialist Party, the Lebanese Communist Party, the Communist Action Organization, the Nasirist forces, the inhabitants of the Palestinian camps and the fighting men of the Palestine Liberation Organization took part.

In Kuwait the Democratic Grouping realized a noteworthy victory in the parliamentary elections and Morocco and Tunisia experienced broad mass uprisings.

In the international community, the anti-war movement and the peace movements, especially in Western Europe and America, have escalated, the severity of the enmity toward the United States and its colonialist policies in Central and South America have intensified, the severity of the social crisis in the capitalist countries has become aggravated, unemployment has increased, the socialists have realized an important victory in Greece, and the Soviet policy of opposition to war and colonialism has been active in the context of Gorbachev's leadership.

Tomorrow's Ideas

Lady and gentleman colleagues:

These positive facts and phenomena, in spite of their [illegible], make me greatly confident of the future. Permit me to present to you some ideas with respect to our movement in the coming 3 years.

First of all, in the domestic context:

The discontinuation of the constant deterioration in the standard of living of the masses of the people and the intermediate classes of our society and the discontinuation of the constant rise in prices.

The adoption of **swift** measures to rectify wages in the public and government sectors and to link them to prices, the elimination of all forms of customs and tax exemptions beyond the minimum incomes exempted, the continued subsidization of the prices of major consumer goods and the preservation of their price stability.

The adoption of immediate steps to limit subordination in the area of food and weapons procurement and the adoption of an agricultural policy aimed at raising the production of grain, especially wheat.

The realization of an increase in the rate of self-reliance to 70 percent in the next 3 years, the diversification of arms sources, the ending of

reliance on American grants as a source for financing arms procurement and the effort to build an independent Egyptian force in a context of Arab collective self-reliance in a manner which will permit objective circumstances to be provided for eliminating all restrictions limiting Egypt's independence and free national will.

The struggle for the sake of establishing democratic rights which have been won and eliminating restrictions imposed on the exercise of democracy, the struggle for the sake of Egyptian human rights and the effort in particular to eliminate the law on parties and give freedom to all social forces and political currents to establish their own parties without the grant of prior permission.

The amendment of the election laws for local assemblies and the People's Assembly, the issuance of a new law on elections giving all adult citizens freedom to run as candidates as parties, bodies or individuals, including the proper representation of all forces on the basis of their actual votes in elections remote from fraud, government intervention and acts of terrorism, in which commitment will be made to a minimum of conditions which the Egyptian opposition parties had previously presented on 27 May 1984, the struggle for the sake of eliminating the state of emergency and the strict application of the provisions of the penal code and criminal measures to punish all people taking part in acts of torture and exact just retribution from them.

The struggle against various forms of factional discrimination and all various types of repression in the name of religion, the effort to support national unity and launch an intellectual campaign against religious extremism in all its forms, the clarification of the dangers of using religion to defend the class interests of exploitative groups or as a basis for discriminating among citizens and defining the rights and duties of individuals and groups, and the effort to support and give prominence to the enlightened religious current.

The struggle against all practices and ideas opposed to the unity of the people and their genuine national and domestic values aimed at reviving the values of work, production, national and domestic affiliation, honor, uprightness, effective participation by the people, social justice and the spread of democratic national culture in confronting the values and forms of conduct which colonialism and Zionism propagate.

Second of all, in the national context:

Establishing the broadest national democratic Arab front containing all parties, groups, political forces and people's organizations without discrimination on a basis of equality, without dominance or tutelage, for the sake of:

Defending the rights of the Arab people in all Arab countries and nations in order to grant the Arab masses opportunities for democratic participation in determining their nation's destiny and drawing up and executing policies to guarantee that the Arab nation is spared further deterioration and fragmentation.

Ending the Iraqi-Iranian war on the basis of respect for the international rights of both countries, each country's sovereignty over its territories and non-intervention in the domestic affairs of either and striving to restore positive relations between the Arab and Iranian peoples in the struggle against colonialism.

Intensifying the struggle against colonialism, Zionism and the forces allied with them in the Arab nation with the goal of ending colonialist dominance and hegemony, eliminating the Zionist aggression, regaining the occupied territories, thwarting the policy of the separate peace and the agreements of the Camp David platform, striving by every means to substitute the Arab peace plan for the "Camp David peace," comprehensively supporting the Palestinian people's struggle on and outside the occupied territory to defend national rights, supporting the Palestinian revolution materially and morally, struggling for the sake of restoring the unity of the Palestine Liberation Organization on democratic bases, pursuing complete solidarity with the organization on grounds that it is the sole legitimate representative of the fraternal people in their struggle on behalf of their rights to establish their democratic state on the territory of Palestine which will guarantee equal rights for all its subjects in spite of their different religions, races and beliefs, and supporting the Palestinian revolution's right to continue the armed struggle against the Zionist enemy from any Arab territory, its right to freedom of movement to mobilize the Palestinian masses in the struggle, its right to adopt its independent political decisions without tutelage from anyone regarding anything related to its destiny and the destiny of its people, and its right to take part on an independent basis in all efforts made to liquidate the Israeli aggression and return peace to the region.

Struggling against all forms of factional and racial discrimination, against the threat of Arab fragmentation and breakup, against all forms of religious violence and the exploitation of religion to defend exploitative classes or as a basis for discriminating among the people of the Arab nation in terms of rights and obligations, striving through every means to implant the notion of Arab nationalism, stressing the fact of the unity of struggle and destiny, and stressing that democratic Arab unity is a basic weapon in our war against subordination and exploitation.

The struggle on behalf of the tentative program, or in confrontation with current or likely dangers, must not deflect us from our basic duties as a socialist party, from the need for serious action to enlighten the party and the people in socialist learning and publicity for the socialist model and to explain the nature of the socialist system which we want to establish in Egypt and the Arab nation, or from the rise in class consciousness of the workers, peasants and revolutionary intellectuals. These are duties which have not received adequate care in the previous stage of our party's life, although they are basic in determining its identity.

The Mass Party

Lady and gentleman colleagues:

The execution of the program which we will produce in final form following your discussions is contingent on the establishment of the mass party.

The establishment of the mass party is not just a vital matter for our party, it is also an essential issue for the future of the national movement in Egypt.

It is not possible to talk about creating a force for exerting pressure on the decisionmaking authorities which is capable of change without an aware, organized mass movement.

Change will not come about as a result of a stroke of luck which removes one ruler and brings in another, and people who have led the nation into its comprehensive current crisis with their policies and options are not capable of that. Experience has taught us that change is the responsibility of the organized mass forces in the parties, unions, federations and societies.

The starting point lies on our shoulders, since we are the party which belongs to the masses of the people and expresses its interests. Its responsibility is to be in word and deed the leader and organizer of their masses to realize change and save the nation.

Your task in this conference is to set out the outlines for building the mass party, to determine the basic options of our party in a precise manner which will not allow for ambiguity and to orient your work to the choice of the new leadership of the party, which will bear the responsibility of carrying out the resolutions of the general conference. May God make us all successful in what is best for this nation.

Long live Egypt, a nation of freedom, socialism and unity, and peace be with you.

Concluding Statement of Conference

Cairo AL-AHALI in Arabic 3 Jul 85 pp 6, 7

[Text] On 27-28 June 1985 the second general conference of the party was held in the party's central headquarters. Attending the conference were 562 members representing 83 percent of the total members who were supposed to attend, in culmination of a broad exercise of democracy during which all the leadership boards of the party were re-elected in accordance with the bill of the party's bylaws.

The conference heard a statement by the secretary general of the party and resolved to include that in the documents of the conference. The conference discussed four reports:

The political report.

The report on amendments to the bill.

A report on the party structure.

The report on AL-AHALI newspaper.

In addition there were three supplementary papers on the domestic and Arab situation and the party structure.

After discussions in the committees and general sessions, which took 2 whole days in an atmosphere of complete democracy, the discussions, which had been held in the course of 6 full months at various party levels through a series of general meetings of the party's membership, during which broad discussions took place in total freedom, crowned by the preparation of supplementary papers, were completed; then the general conference issued the following statement:

We and Democracy

The Grouping is a socialist party whose ultimate goal is the establishment of a socialist society in which man's exploitation of man will disappear, and its road to that lofty goal is the road of independent development which requires the expertise and development of the sixties in the light of social and intellectual changes and the practical forms of expertise which Egypt, the Arab countries and the countries of the third world as a whole have learned in the past quarter century.

The Grouping cannot conceive of an independent development which is not led by the working forces of the people, headed by the workers, peasants and revolutionary intellectuals, and the Grouping does not accept any theoretical or practical ambiguity founded on a possibility that a capitalist class might lead the process of independent development. Consequently the essence of the Grouping's struggle for the coming years is to build this alliance and expand its fighting mass base to the farthest limits.

Democracy is the best context for this glorious struggle. Consequently, the Grouping's adherence to democracy is a genuine position or principle. The Grouping is also truly aware of the fact of Arab nationalism and is consequently working to build the broadest Arab front of national progressive unionist forces and parties alongside its struggle within Egypt, a struggle which derives great influence from Egypt's special situation throughout the whole Arab nation.

The Grouping knows that it is not possible to outstrip reality by embracing slogans and it considers that conditions in Egypt and the Arab nation are still proceeding in the direction of further deterioration, fragmentation, repression and the impoverishment of the ordinary classes and intermediate groups.

Proceeding from our suitable commitment regarding the ordinary classes and our struggle on behalf of national democratic independence and attainment of the major goals of the Arab nation, headed by the restoration of the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people:

Our Policy of Struggle

The Grouping is embracing a policy for its current struggle which is founded on the general directives of its electoral program. It emphasizes, in particular:

1. The struggle against the continuous deterioration in the standard of living of the masses of the people and the intermediate groups of our society, the discontinuation of the constant rise in prices, the adoption of swift measures to correct wages in the public and government sectors, the tying of wages to prices, the elimination of all forms of tax and customs exemptions going beyond the minimum level of incomes exempted, the continued subsidization of the prices of main consumer goods and the preservation of their price stability.

2. The adoption of immediate steps to limit subordination in the area of food and weapons procurement, the adoption of an agricultural policy aimed at raising the production of grain, particularly wheat, the attainment of an increase in the rate of self-reliance to 70 percent in the next 3 years, the diversification of sources of arms, the termination of reliance on American grants as a source for financing the procurement of arms and the effort to build an independent Egyptian force in the context of collective Arab self-reliance in a manner which will allow for the provision of objective circumstances for eliminating all restrictions limiting Egypt's independence and free national will.

3. The struggle for the sake of establishing the democratic rights which have been gained and eliminating the restrictions imposed on the exercise of democracy, the struggle on behalf of the rights of the Egyptian people, the effort in particular to eliminate the law on parties and grant all social forces and political currents freedom to establish their parties without the grant of prior permission, the elimination of indiscriminate political isolation, the elimination of the law on the protection of the domestic front and social peace and the law protecting values from impropriety, the amendment of the laws on election to the local assemblies and the People's Assembly, the issuance of a new law on elections giving all adult citizens, parties, authorities and individuals the freedom to run as candidates and guaranteeing all forces proper representation on the basis of their true votes in elections far from fraudulence, government interference and acts of terror, in which a commitment will be made to the minimum conditions the Egyptian opposition parties had previously presented before the People's Assembly elections on 27 May 1984, the struggle for the sake of eliminating the state of emergency and the strict application of the stipulations of the penal code and the law on criminal measures to prosecute all people taking part in activities of torture and the exaction of just retribution from them, the abolition of all charges in political cases and cases concerned with opinions up to 6 October 1981, and also an amnesty in the case of verdicts which might have been issued and the effects which might have been derived from them.

4. The struggle to thwart the colonialist scheme which since 1968 has had the objective of provoking, and striven to stir up, all forms of religious,

village and factional disputes as a means for crushing the unity of the nation, to stand up to all forms of coercion practiced in the name of religion by any group or society, to work to support national unity, to launch an intellectual struggle against religious frenzy in all its forms, to explain the dangers of using religion against its own nature and essence to defend the class interests of exploited groups or as a basis for discriminating among citizens and defining the rights of individuals and groups, to struggle for the sake of uplifting the values of the mind, knowledge, social development and human rights, and to seek, with every effort, to have enlightened religious understanding prevail.

5. The struggle against all practices and ideas hostile to the unity and genuine national and domestic values of the people and for the sake of reviving the values of work, production, national and domestic affiliation, honor, uprightness, effective participation by the people, social justice and the spread of national democratic culture in confronting values and forms of conduct which colonialism and Zionism disseminate.

6. The establishment of the broadest national and Arab democratic front, containing all parties, political forces and people's organizations without discrimination on a basis of equality and without dominance or tutelage, in order to struggle for the sake of:

Defending Arab human rights in all Arab countries and states and providing opportunities for democratic participation for the Arab masses in determining their nation's destiny and in outlining and executing policies which will guarantee that the Arab nation is spared further deterioration and fragmentation.

Ending the Iraqi-Iranian war on a basis of respect for the international rights of each country, sovereignty of each country over its territories and nonintervention in the domestic affairs of either and striving to restore positive relations between the Arab and Iranian peoples in the struggle against colonialism.

Intensifying the struggle against colonialism, Zionism and the forces allied with them in the Arab nation with the objective of ending colonialist domination and hegemony, liquidating the Zionist aggression, regaining the occupied territories, thwarting the policy of the separate peace and the agreements and platform of Camp David, working by every means to substitute the Arab peace plan for the "Camp David peace," comprehensively supporting the struggle of the Palestinian people inside and outside the occupied territory in defense of their national rights, supporting the Palestinian revolution morally and materially, struggling for the sake of regaining the unity of the Palestine Liberation Organization on democratic foundations, establishing total solidarity with the organization on grounds that it is the sole legitimate representative of the fraternal people in their struggle for the sake of their rights to establish their democratic state on the territory of Palestine, which will guarantee equal rights for all its subjects in spite of their different religions, races and beliefs, and supporting the right of the Palestinian people to continue the armed struggle against the Zionist enemy from any Arab territory, their rights to freedom of movement to

mobilize the Palestinian masses in the struggle, and their rights to take their independent political decisions without tutelage from anyone with respect to anything related to their destiny, the destiny of their people and their right to participate independently in all efforts exerted to liquidate the Israeli aggression and restore peace to the region.

Struggling against all forms of factional and racial discrimination, against the danger of Arab fragmentation and disunity and against all forms of religious and factional violence and the use of religion to defend the exploitative classes or as a basis for discrimination among the members of the Arab nation with respect to rights and obligations, seeking by every means to implant the notion of Arab nationalism, underlining the fact of the unity of struggle and destiny, and asserting that democratic Arab unity is a basic weapon in our war against subordination and exploitation.

7. The struggle in full alongside the fraternal Sudanese people who have succeeded in driving out al-Numayri's criminal regime, their support in confronting all the economic and political difficulties the national regime is facing and the intensification of fraternal bonds between the two peoples of the Nile Valley in a common struggle to be rid of subordination and colonialism.

The execution of these tasks will depend on the construction of the mass party which will indeed provide the realistic bases for realizing a decisive achievement on behalf of its establishment. The results of the party elections have affirmed that we indeed have a great wealth of fighting national and regional leaders and that we indeed have strong bonds with the mass movement. The discussions of the second general conference have also revealed that our party base has acquired valuable experience in the area of the mass struggle for the sake of defending the interests of the ordinary classes. Therefore, we must direct ourselves decisively in the coming stage to deepen the fighting character of our mass action, in the process of completing the construction of the party to set off from the tasks of the mass struggle, and to have it strive for an effective presence in existing democratic and mass organizations, especially since the coming stage will require the mobilization of the masses of the working people to defend their own interest by themselves and defend the nation's independence and the right of the people to a sound democratic life and a fair share of the nation's wealth. Long live Egypt, a nation of freedom, socialism and unity.

Major Conference Discussions Reviewed

Cairo AL-AHALI in Arabic 8 Jul 85 p 7

[Text] The discussions of the political committee of the conference were among the most heated of those which took place in the conference. They occurred in the course of two meetings which lasted more than 10 hours and concentrated on the political situation and the tasks of the political stage, as cited in the draft of the political report presented to the conference.

Attending the committee meetings were 232 members, of whom 60 requested the floor and 34 spoke. A further number of members presented written statements

to the chairmanship of the committee, and Dr Fu'ad Mursi, chairman of the committee, presented a report on the committee discussions at the concluding session of the conference, stating:

With Respect to the Domestic Situation

The discussions which took place underlined many issues which enriched the draft political report and revealed other basic issues around which dialogue concentrated, both agreeing and differing with the draft political report.

In the domestic context, the discussions underlined the features, dimensions and depth of the comprehensive crisis which is dominating the country as a result of the pursuit of the path of liberalization toward international capitalism and the headlong economic, political, military and cultural rush into its embrace. The discussions, in particular, underlined the depth of the American colonialist invasion of Egypt, an invasion which has extended to the countryside. In addition to the elimination of sequestrations and the return of land to the former big landowners and their expulsion of tenants which that has entailed, a tendency has manifested itself of eliminating the laws regulating the relationship between the landlord and tenant in a manner representing the landowner's right to expel the small farmers. In the same direction, the compulsory pricing of fruit and vegetable crops has been abrogated and the government marketing of traditional crops has been kept. In addition, the most up-to-date imported consumer goods are being promoted while the primitive nature of the means of agricultural production endures.

The features of the American plan regarding the agricultural problem in Egypt are now being defined through what are called the small peasant project, the agricultural mechanization project and the agricultural lending processes. In confronting all this, the real solution is embodied in going back to the system of democratic agricultural cooperation founded on the main role of the agricultural cooperative plan, in terms of credit and legislation.

With the Masses, Not by Proxy for Them

The discussions also underlined the importance of the coming stage and the numerous dangers which threaten the future of Egypt as a result of the continuation of the aggravated crisis and the government's inability to offer solutions to it. Therefore, the discussions emphasized the inevitability of the role of the masses and the need to develop the party's role in its capacity as a combat battalion, not as a debating society. The people who spoke stated that it was necessary to define the mass struggles the party would embark on with the masses, not by proxy or substitution for them, for instance the struggle of landlord and tenant, the struggle of wages and prices, the struggle of the bill for university students, the struggle of tax evasion, the struggle of the right of the national forces to form their political parties and the struggle for the formation of democratic organizations. The discussion extended to include the appeal to revive the committee for the defense of democracy.

In this regard, the people speaking stated that defense of the public sector did not mean that we should neglect the issue of its liquidation, which has been going on for a long time inside and outside the sector.

The Issue of the Front

Many of the people speaking gave prominence to issues which the draft political report did not deal with adequately, such as the issue of the front and front action and the intensive expertise which is assembled in the party in its regard; this would have prompted the presentation of this expertise in a detailed form for party and mass discussion. In addition, in view of the disputes raised on the diagnosis of class conditions, many of the people speaking called for the importance of the party's carrying out scientific realistic studies of capitalism which would permit its sections, groups and classes to be defined in a realistic fashion.

Against Imperialism

In the Arab context, the discussions underlined the importance of holding a broad democratic dialogue among the vanguards of the Arab national liberation movement to reach agreement on a minimum program for standing up to American imperialism, international Zionism and Arab reaction.

In this regard, the importance of completing the process of the constant culling of Arab nationalist forces was raised.

The discussions in the international context underlined the importance of supporting and developing the labor movement for the sake of liquidating colonialism in its new and old forms and the need to establish a strong Egyptian peace movement to cope with the increasing dangers threatening world peace and peace in the Arab and local contexts.

Issues of Dispute

Alongside the issues which we have mentioned, as a supplement to the draft political report, the discussion concentrated on three issues of dispute:

The issue of capitalism and matters tangential to it.

The issue of the Palestinian revolution.

The Arab cause.

Guiding Economic Performance

A large number of people taking part in the discussion of the political report expressed an opinion regarding statements in the report and the supplementary paper concerning the nature of capitalism in Egypt at the present time and the goals of the struggle in the coming stage. A large number of the people speaking criticized the contents of the report regarding the need to restrict parasitic activity preparatory to liquidating it. In the context of this criticism, reference was made to the contents of the report on this

subject which held big capitalism innocent of responsibility for the decline and deterioration of economic conditions and responsibility for the increase in the severity of subordination even though it was responsible for that. In addition, the lack of validity of the statement that there were parasitical capitalist groups dominating the regime and that the dominance belonged to big capitalism in general, whether it was active in the area of production or transactions, was ruled out. Some people deduced, on that basis, that the bulk of the taxes ought to be directed to big capitalism in its totality and not to the parasites to the exclusion of the other segments of big capitalism. In this context, some people called for the need to set out a program calling for the nationalization of big capitalism in Egypt. In addition, the statement made that it was cited in the report on guiding capitalism, or mention was made in the discussion and the supplementary paper on the importance of acting for the sake of guiding economic performance in Egypt in the current capitalistic framework, was criticized, at a time in which a struggle was taking place for the sake of increasing the enlightenment of the masses of the importance and necessity of the socialist solution to Egypt's basic issues. In this area it was pointed out that at the same time the party had to struggle in order to wrest gains for the masses in the current capitalistic context, its basic orientation had to be to call the masses to struggle for the sake of attaining real independent development, and that would take place only on a basis of socialism.

These views were discussed by a number of people who spoke and stated that the political report and the party's various declarations did not in any way even refer to the guidance of capitalism, but rather in more than one place referred to the importance and need to guide economic performance in the current capitalistic framework, that this sort of appeal was necessary in order to defend the interests of the masses of the people, that the discussion of subjects such as subsidies, the reform of the public sector, the laws on agricultural rents, the change in the tax system or the imposition of restrictions on imports or the like was taking place in the current capitalistic system, that the recommendations it presented with respect to these or other issues included reforms for the sake of an economic performance which was more mature than the existing capitalist context, and that that sort of stand totally paralyzed the party. It was also pointed out that economic development did not always mean the dominance of parasitic activity and that the process was a general description of the relationship between the countries of the third world and the advanced capitalist countries, that the dominance by parasitic activity in the case of Egypt was a specific characteristic of the conditions of subordination in Egypt, that that had resulted from the increase in the role of the service and transaction sectors without increased production, for instance the development of the special role of the remittances of Egyptians abroad, that the struggle against subordination was a long one which would end only with the attainment of full liberation of the economy and the preservation of a totally independent domestic economy, and that directing the basic blow at parasitic activity in Egypt meant directing the blow at the big capitalist sector which was the most hostile to the masses and the least connected to the domestic economy.

Some of the people who sought to speak referred in commenting on these differences in opinion to the impossibility of resolving many of these

discussions which were theoretical in character without an in-depth study of the Arab economic situation, and they pointed out that the second conference of the party ought to demand that this sort of objective study be completed in order to be a basis for defining the most delicate points of economic conditions and class relations.

The Palestinian Issue

The committee reviewed the position on the Palestinian issue, on grounds that it is the central issue in national action generally.

Most of the people speaking observed the comprehensive state of Arab deterioration which the overwhelming majority of the Arab regimes had caused with their desire for hostility toward the interests of the masses. Some members pointed to the party's lack of an integrated Arab strategy, while others stated that the party's program and documents contained such a strategy in adequate form.

As regards the Palestine Liberation Organization, some of the people who spoke referred to some of the positions of the organization's leadership, which had indicated a tendency to establish alliances with the most reactionary forces in the Arab world, their attempt to remove some detachments of the resistance from Palestinian decisionmaking power and their efforts at a solution which would not realize the hopes of the Palestinian people. The people holding this view stressed the need to reject the Jordanian-Palestinian agreement on grounds that it did not realize the demands and hopes of the Palestinian people and as a means which the Egyptian-Jordanian axis was adopting to assert the plan of betting on an American solution to the issue of the Middle East.

Meanwhile, some others stressed the need to respect the independence of Palestinian decisionmaking, without tutelage over it, and warned of issuing prior judgments on intentions, although they had asserted that no one was giving anyone absolute power of attorney and that the position on the Palestinian national leadership should be determined in the light of its adherence to the goals of the Palestinian struggle in the light of the party's view of the goals of the Arab and Egyptian struggle.

[They also stated] that the organization, as sole legitimate leadership of the Palestinian Arab people, was the instrument and leadership of the Palestinian revolution and was recognized by the Palestinian people as a whole and world public opinion as a whole.

They pointed out that the total current orientations of the organization's leadership and the bases that contained for the draft Jordanian-Palestinian movement [sic] were still being realized on the grounds of realizing the legitimate demands of the Palestinian people, most important of which were their right to self-determination on their territory and their right to return to their nation and establish their independent country.

[They also pointed out] that the struggle within the organization as an expression of the difference in views of the numerous Palestinian forces must

take place within the context of democracy and full recognition of all parties. A number of the people who spoke asserted that a political solution was not in any case an alternative to any other form of struggle, foremost armed struggle, and that the real success of the Palestinian struggle demanded local Arab struggles in all Arab countries to realize balance on behalf of revolutionary action and against imperialism and Zionism. Everyone stressed the Palestinian people's right to exercise their legitimate role in the armed struggle from within the occupied territories and all other Arab territory.

Regarding the Religious Question

The discussions and papers offered to the chairmanship of the meeting expressed the emergence of two views regarding the religious issue.

The first viewpoint supported the contents of the party program expressing the nature of the Grouping in its character as a mass party.

The second viewpoint demanded that religion be separated from the state and that secularism be adopted. The secretariat general presented a paper on the religious issue whose most important elements were presented in the discussion, and it was considered appropriate that the paper should be considered one of the committee papers presented to the conference. The contents of this paper asserted:

1 [sic]. That it restricted the dispute between the two abovementioned points of view. It is worth mentioning from the beginning that the maneuver to separate religion from the state is a violation of the context of the party program, since the constitution and the law on parties stipulate that Islamic law is to be considered the main source of legislation and the party is committed to that in its general program.

The paper stresses that the party is not against secularism in its proper sense, but when this notion was misunderstood by the Arab and Egyptian masses, the various right-wing forces tried to assert in the minds of the masses that secularism meant atheism and apostasy.

We have a specific interpretation, which is that, bearing all its proper premises in mind, we are therefore against the establishment of a religious government but want the establishment of a society founded on the values, virtues and models of religion in the context of secular laws which people choose by themselves from Islamic law and the heritage and values of the society in the light of the interests of the masses. Government in Islam is civil government from all angles. In addition, the paper asserted the party's basic orientation, which is the establishment of a socialist society devoid of exploitation through belief in almighty God, appreciation of the value of work, respect for knowledge and planning, and appreciation of the role of the mind and individual thought without compulsion with regard to anyone concerning any creed or religion. In addition, the party is against religious frenzy and fanaticism from any direction, with respect for the people's proper beliefs and rituals, in the context of the united interests of all the members of the nation in opposition to colonialism, Zionism, exploitation, poverty and subordination.

We are proponents of a dialogue with all political and religious forces and tendencies which believe in dialogue, stressing an atmosphere of differences in views devoid of prior accusations of apostasy or atheism and also devoid of the charge of paralysis or reaction; that is, we should be the instrument of understanding, dialogue and true democracy.

Finally, the committee considers that this issue is of such importance and gravity that it needs more time and further presentation of discussions and definition of stands, especially in the face of specific events such as factional strife, the system for applying Islamic law, how we should begin, and what we should begin with — the personal status law? women's work?

Therefore the party is requested to open its heart to the enlightened religious current inside and outside the party in order to expand the scope of dialogue and create and construct this current in confronting others; thus the Grouping will be dealing with religion from within from a proper position of principle.

Election of Secretariat Members

Cairo AL-AHALI in Arabic 3 Jul 85 p 7

[Text] The new secretariat general of the Grouping Party, with 240 members in addition to 10 representing the Federation of Progressive Youth and 10 female members representing the Federation of Progressive Women, held its first meeting after being elected by the general conference last Saturday morning 29 June.

The central committee elected a new secretariat general of 64 members, the secretary of the Federation of Progressive Youth, Hani al-Husayni, and the secretary of the Federation of Progressive Women, Aminah Shafiq. Ten members of the former secretariat which led the activity in the past 5 years left the formation of the secretariat general, while 36 new members were re-elected, among them 12 governorate secretaries, the Islamic thinker Khalil 'Abd-al-Karim, Muhammad 'Iraqi, secretary of the Federation of Egyptian Peasants, five labor union leaders, Nabil 'Abd-al-Ghani, member of an elected board of directors in the Misr Hilwan Company, Ibrahim Sadiq, member of an elected board of directors of the al-Shurbaji Company, 'Abd-al-Hamid al-Shaykh, chairman of the union of workers of the al-Sna'b organization, Ahmad Hasan, Jum'ah Sultan, Dr Jalal Rajab, member of the board of the Lawyers' Union, Hakim Yani the lawyer, Dr Muhammad Abu Mandur, professor in the Faculty of Agriculture and member of the board of directors of the Cairo University Faculty Club, Dr 'Abd-al-Basit 'Abd-al-Mu'ti, professor of sociology at the Faculty of Education, Dr Muhammad Nur Farahat, professor of law at al-Zaqaziq University, Faridah al-Naqqash, the journalistic writer, Dr 'Ali Nuwayji, the well known doctor and politician in Dassuq, Muhammad Taha, 'Atif al-'Ashiri and Fathi Muhyi-al-Din.

The central committee also elected its secretariat, the agency of the administration of everyday activity, of 20 members. It consists of:

Khalid Muhyi-al-Din, the secretary general, Dr Muhammad Ahmad Khalafallah and Lutfi Wakid, two assistant secretaries general, Dr Rif'at al-Sa'id,

secretary of the central committee, Husayn 'Abd-al-Raziq, editor in chief of AL-AHALI, Dr Fu'ad Mursi, secretary of the political committee, Muhammad Khalil, secretary of the mass action committee, Husayn Fahmi, secretary for information, Dr Ramzi Fahim, secretary of the party discipline committee, and 'Isam Mu'awwad, secretary of the financial affairs committee, and Shaykh Mustafa 'Asi, Dr Isma'il Sabri 'Abdallah, Muhammad Sabri Mubdi, Lutfi al-Khuli, Abu Sayf Yusuf, 'Aryan Nasif, Hasan 'Abd Rabbuh and Mahmud al-Maraghi as members.

A single member left the central secretariat and three new members entered it — 'Aryan Nasif, Husayn 'Abd Rabbuh and Mahmud al-Maraghi.

To this forty-four members were added and together they form the secretariat general of the party. They are:

Dr Lutfi Sulayman, Ra'fat Sayf, Muhammad Sid Ahmad, al-Badri Farghali, Muhammad Hilmi Yasin, 'Ali Isma'il, 'Ali Talkhan, Dr 'Abd-al-Mun'im Harbush, Dr Muhammad Nur Farahat, Hakim Yani, Muhammad 'Izzat Hashim, Dr 'Ali Nuwayji, Muhammad Ibrahim Mu'adh, Muhammad Mukhtar Jum'ah, Khalil 'Abd-al-Karim, Jum'ah Sultan, 'Abd-al-Hamid al-Shaykh, Fathi Muhyi-al-Din, Counsellor Salah 'Abd-al-Majid, Ahmad Hasan, Dr Samir Fayyad, Muhammad Bahr 'Ata, Muhammad 'Iraqi, Muhammad Ibrahim 'Uways, Fawzi Ahmad Hasan, Mamduh Raghib al-Darbali, Ibrahim Sadiq, Muhammad 'Ubayd 'Ayish, Fathi Mahmud, al-Sa'id Jamal-al-Din, Rashad al-Jabali, Shahandah Muqallad, Nabil Mansur, Ibrahim Sa'd-al-Din, 'Abd-al-Majid Ahmad, Muhammad Mitwalli al-Sha'rawi, Dr 'Abd-al-Basit 'Abd-al-Mu'ti, Nabil 'Abd-al-Ghani, Faridah al-Naqqash, Dr Muhammad Abu Mandur, Ahmad 'Atif al-'Ashiri, Muhammad Ahmad Taha, Ahmad Zaghlul and Dr Jalal Rajab.

The central secretariat will hold its meeting at noon on Monday.

Discipline of Qina Secretary

Cairo AL-AHALI in Arabic 3 Jul 85 p 7

[Text] The Grouping committee in the Governorate of Qina transferred Muhammad Mustafa Bakri, the former secretary of the governorate, Sayyid Karkur, Sayyid 'Abd-al-Wahhab and an additional number of colleagues to the party discipline committee for financial and organizational violations which they committed between the first committee and the preparation for the second general party conference.

The Qina Governorate conference was held 24 June under the supervision of Dr Lutfi Sulayman, Mukhtar Jum'ah and 'Ali Isma'il and in the attendance of 107 members out of the 150 who were members of the conference. Muhammad Bahr 'Ata was elected secretary of the governorate. he is a member of the Upper Egypt Spinning Plants union committee.

Conference Vignettes Cited

Cairo AL-AHALI in Arabic 3 Jul 85 p 7

[Text] Shaykh Muhammad 'Iraqi (a peasant) and Abu al-'Izz al-Hariri (workers) obtained the most second general conference votes in the elections to the central committee.

Workers and peasants occupied the first 10 seats in the list of people elected to membership in the central committee (45 members) by the conference.

'Abdallah al-Zughbi, the lawyer, Husayn Fahmi, the writer, journalist and six times head of the Journalists' Union, and Dr Ibrahim Sa'd-al-Din received the most votes from the conference among the winners.

In addition to the 10 female members who represented the Federation of Progressive Women in the central committee, the governorates elected four women to membership in the central committee -- Shahandah Muqallad, Faridah al-Naqqash, Najah 'Umar and Aminah al-Naqqash.

Shahandah al-Muqallad is the only lady to have been elected secretary of a party governorate (al-Minufiyah).

The general conference applauded the central committee at the end of its meetings to salute the colleagues working in the central headquarters for the splendid effort they made during 3 days in which they did not sleep [even] a few hours.

The conference agreed to the issuance of a recommendation requesting that all political cases such as 6 October 1981 be dropped, that all the investigations into political cases be filed away and that all the sentences issued in the exceptional courts before and after that date be abrogated.

The AL-AHALI report committee demanded that a more specific, clearer position be adopted on the Wafd party and its newspaper, in particular on its attacks on the achievements of the 23 July revolution and the gains of the workers, peasants and other common groups.

Sixteen of the central committee members objected to the election of Husayn 'Abd-al-Raziq as editor in chief of AL-AHALI, and nine abstained.

Jordanian-Palestinian Agreement Supported

Cairo AL-AHALI in Arabic 3 Jul 85 p 7

[Text] The conference agreed by a large majority to the resolution of the secretariat general bearing on support for the joint Jordanian-Palestinian agreement in the light of the interpretations which the executive committee of the Palestine Liberation Organization issued on its provisions.

An Appeal to Unity within the Palestine Liberation Organization

The conference called on the leadership of the Palestine Liberation Organization to hasten to conduct a dialogue with the other Palestinian organizations preparatory to holding an emergency Palestine Liberation Organization meeting to discuss the Palestinian revolution's view of the future without prior commitments from any of the forces of the revolution. One should bear in mind that the Grouping will adamantly support the resolutions of the conference which the Palestine National Conference approves.

Greetings to the Lebanese People and Their National Forces and Condemnation of AMAL's Slaughter of the Palestinians

The conference directed greetings to the heroic struggle of the Lebanese people and their national forces which have set forth an inspiring example of challenge to aggression and occupation and for the first time in the history of the Arab-Zionist confrontation have liberated land which was occupied by aggression and regained by the force of arms. The conference also condemned the Shiite AMAL organization for its commission of the slaughter of Palestinians in what is known as the war of the camps.

Support for the Sudanese People

The conference resolved to direct greetings to the heroic Sudanese people who brought down Numayri's puppet regime and stressed their right to complete their people's revolution for the sake of achieving a democratic society in the Sudan.

15 Members Head Conference

Cairo AL-AHALI in Arabic 3 Jul 85 p 7

[Text] At the beginning of its sessions, under the chairmanship of Khalid Muhyi-al-Din, the general conference elected Lutfi Wakid, Dr Rif'at al-Sa'id, Dr Fu'ad Mursi, Husayn 'Abd-al-Raziq, 'Abd-al-Ghaffar Shukr, Dr 'Ali al-Nuwayji, Dr Ramzi Fahim, Mustafa 'Asi, 'Ali Talkhan, Dr Muhammad Ahmad Khalafallah, Counsellor Salah 'Abd-al-Majid, Muhammad Khalil, Muhammad Muhayrir and Rashad al-Jabali. Majdi Sharabiyah, 'Abd-al-Hamid Kamal, Muhammad al-Fahiri and Nasr Halqah assumed the activities of the conference secretariat.

11887
CSO: 4504/405

EGYPT

BRIEFS

LIGHT TREMOR NEAR CAIRO--Cairo, 23 Jul (MENA)--According to the Geophysics and Astronomy Institute, a light tremor occurred near Cairo at 2329 yesterday. The tremor was felt by residents of the following neighborhoods: Al-Muhandisin, Al-Duqqi, Al-Manyal, Shubra, Misr al-Qadimah, and Al-Ma'adi. Rashad al-Qubaysi, the director of the institute, said the tremor registered 4 on Mercalli Scale and did not cause any damage. [Text] [Cairo MENA in Arabic 0830 GMT 23 Jul 85 NC]

CRUDE OIL PRICE REDUCED--Cairo, 19 Jul (MENA)--AL-AHRAM reports that the decisionmaking committee of the Egyptian Petroleum Authority has decided to reduce the price of Egyptian crude oil by \$1.50 per barrel because of the sharp decline in oil prices on international markets. The paper adds that the price reduction is also due to a fall in the price of various types of crude oil on spot free markets by \$2-4 per barrel, according to the type of crude oil and area of production, as a result of an increase of the oil surplus on world markets. [Text] [Cairo MENA in Arabic 0640 GMT 19 Jul 85 NC]

MUBARAK LAUDS OAU LEADERS--Addis Ababa, 17 Jul (MENA)--President Husni Mubarak, who is presently in Addis Ababa to participate in the OAU summit, has praised the African leaders' ever keen interest in convening their summit on time, saying that there are other summit meetings that are unable to convene. In a statement to the Egyptian press delegation tonight, President Mubarak stressed that it is a matter of pride and gratification that the OAU summit is held annually on schedule. [Text] [Cairo MENA in Arabic 2022 GMT 17 Jul 85 NC]

CSO: 4500/165

SUDAN

NATIONALIST PARTY PRESIDENT DISCUSSES VARIOUS ISSUES

Khartoum AL-AYYAM in Arabic 7 Jun 85 p 3

[Interview with Father Philip 'Abbas Ghabbush, president of the Sudanese Nationalist Party, by 'Abidin Samsa'ah and 'Umar Isma'il: "Father Philip Ghabbush Talks to AL-AYYAM: No Alternative to Democracy and No Substitute for National Unity. We Must Evolve the Present Regional Rule into a Federal System"]

[Text] "We do not want secession. We do not call for it in any of our party's programs. We call for unity, the unity of the whole nation, the nation of the Sudan, north and south, east and west. We call for the continuation of regionalism and its development into federalism."

This is what Father Philip 'Abbas Ghabbush, head of the Sudanese Nationalist Party, announced in the interview which AL-AYYAM held with him on the nation's issues in the current stage.

The Call For Populist Democracy

We began by asking Father Philip about their intention as regards founding a new party.

He said: "The truth is that the Sudanese Nationalist Party is not new in that sense. Rather, it is a deep-rooted party whose registration under that name has only been recently completed.

"We of the Sudanese Nationalist Party have been bitter enemies of the May regime. We repeatedly tried to overthrow it, our last such attempt being this past October. Our plans to restore the glories of October were discovered and I was arrested on 26 October.

"It is obvious that we differ from many other parties in that we herald the cause of democracy in the Sudan."

No Alternative to Democracy

Questioned on the creation of an environment for democracy and guarantees for its perpetuation in the Sudan, he responded:

"We in the party have reaffirmed in our charter that there is no alternative to democracy. All Sudanese parties that believe in democracy must close their ranks. They must insist on democracy and practice it in letter and spirit. We of the Sudanese Nationalist Party denounce military repression in any form. Government must spring from true democracy rooted in Sudanese nationalism."

We Reject Political Repression

Father Philip Ghabbush, president of the Sudanese Nationalist Party, adds:

"We in the party reject any form of political repression directed by any political party against another. We desire freedom for ourselves and for the people. We denounce feuds between parties. All of us in the various political parties must work together for true equality through democratic practices. We must cooperate in bringing democracy about, or woe to us!"

Justice Is the Mainstay of Democracy

Discussing factors essential to the perpetuation of democracy, Ghabbush says that justice must be provided everywhere; democracy must be reinterpreted in conformity with fact. The party's philosophy in this regard is based on the principle of equal opportunity. Ghabbush says his party asks that other political parties consider this a point of national interest. All offices must be distributed among all the Sudanese.

He says that with "God and Country" as its motto, the party's charter has defined its goals as the achievement of true democracy and freedom, fraternity, and equality of all races in all respects as well as recognition that the Sudan is a country of four anchors--north, east, west, and south. The party deems it necessary to maintain regionalism while working for its future evolution into federalism. Priority in development should be to the less developed provinces.

The Problem of the South Is a National Issue

Father Ghabbush says the problem of the south should not be viewed from a narrow regional perspective but should be considered a national issue. He implores political parties, groupings, and the transitional government to work for fundamental solution to that problem in order to thwart its harmful effects and believes that the strategy for such a solution should be devised at a meeting of all political leaders.

Accumulated Debts and Neglected Production

Responding to questions on the economy, he says the party believes the Sudanese economy reached a serious degree of deterioration under the overthrown regime which accumulated debt and neglected production with obvious effect on the standard of living of the Sudanese citizen. It is the party's position that natural resources should be justly distributed among the citizens. Investment of national capital should be encouraged. Taxes and customs duties collected

in a certain region should be dedicated to the development of that region. Attention should be paid to animal husbandry and to the development of investment and medical services. Natives of the various regions should be given more opportunity to manage local affairs.

Father Ghabbush adds, "The Sudanese economy must be free and we must work to remove all restrictions. We should revive free markets to regain for the country what it lost during the past 16 years.

We Reject the September Laws

"We of the Sudanese Nationalist Party vehemently reject the so-called Islamic Laws of September 1983. Those are repressive laws which we in the party previously fought because we suffered through them under the deposed May regime. A return to those laws would be an avoidable catastrophe since the majority of the Sudanese people is hurt by them and rejects them. We say that people should be left to the judgment of their god on the day of resurrection. We reject religious tutelage. The Sudanese people needs spiritualism, not fanaticism. We reject oppression and profiteering in the name of religion. We reiterate that the Sudanese Nationalist Party demands the repeal of the September 1983 laws."

Trial for Aides of the Deposed Butcher

On the subject of putting the deposed president on trial, Ghabbush says the people have already judged him and now consider him as dead. "We can not advocate putting on trial a deceased person who is not among us. If he were to be found, the party would have another say.

"The party advocates prompt trials for all indicted under due process.

"We do not like Sudanese political parties to be pawns of foreign countries but we do not mind that they have friends.

"As for foreign policy, the party espouses adherence to the charters of African Unity and the United Nations and adherence to the non-aligned policy while it advocates rejection of military alliances.

Extraditing the Deposed Despot

"The party demands that Egypt hand the deposed despot over to the people of the Sudan. The radio reported certain Egyptian officials to have said that the Sudanese do not aspire to the extradition of the overthrown president.

"We in the party say that this is a matter for the Sudanese to decide. Such statements could harm the close historical ties with Egypt."

Addressing himself to Egyptian Sudanese relations, he says that the party had previously expressed the opinion that integration was an integration of presidents and it must be a union of two peoples. To achieve integration,

the two peoples must be polled for their wishes. "We of the party demand a true union and reject, as null and void the union worked out by the past regime."

The Problem of Drought and Famine

Father Philip Ghabbush says the Sudan faces a problem of drought and subsequent famine. Citizens in Darfur and Kordofan have migrated en masse to the three cities, especially in the northern and western areas of Umm Durman. "We demand that the government take the necessary relief measures to save these people."

Ghabbush denies rumors that his party is secessionist. He says, "We advocate regionalism within a unified Sudanese framework. We absolutely reject secession. We oppose closing certain regions to political organizations. Our party as well as others participated in the April awakening. The populist revolution owes its success to the solidarity of all. The truth is that the poor motivated the revolution. It is a true revolution and no one party has the right to take credit for it. The poor citizen is the revolutionary who aroused the man in the street with the help of university students. One may say that the revolution is the work of the hungry."

We Requested a Pardon in the National Interest

About his trial and the pardon he was granted earlier this year, he says he had formed secret cells within the army as far back as 1983. A comprehensive plan of action was devised but when it was divulged by a cell member Ghabbush and his collaborators were arrested in late October and a trial was set for January of 1985. "However, I followed a sound tactic by requesting a general pardon for myself and my group on the grounds that they are Sudanese brainpower that should not be wasted."

12945

CSO: 4504/402

TUNISIA

TWO ESPIONAGE SYSTEMS SMASHED: LIBYA, IRAQ REPORTED INVOLVED

Paris LE MONDE in French 21-22 Jul 85 p 5

[Article by Michel Deure]

TUNIS -- Two espionage networks in which Iraq and Libya are involved were broken up over the course of recent weeks by the Tunisian police. The weekly REALITES, which broke the story on Friday 19 July, did not name the two countries, but provided such broad hints as to their identities that anybody could guess them when it referred to "an Arab State in the Middle East governed by a Ba'th Party," and to "a neighboring State where Tunisian emigres live"(some 90,000 Tunisians, whom Col Qadhdhafi periodically threatens to pack home currently work in Libya). Also, despite the silence of official sources, various Arab and European diplomatic sources confirmed that Iraq and Libya were indeed involved.

Precedents

According to REALITES, in the first such affair a dozen or so Tunisians, "most of them officials assigned to various Tunisian-ruled districts in positions that made it easy for them to gather intelligence" were arrested and will shortly be haled before the State Security court. Recruited by a diplomat from the "Arab State in the Middle East ruled by a Ba'th Party" (who, it is believed, has been expelled), they were charged with engaging in bribery to gather intelligence "about the administrative and political machinery of the State, the activities of certain opposition groups, and Tunisia's relations with its neighbors." This is not the first time that connections have been uncovered between some Tunisians and the Iraqi Ba'th party, but never, apparently, did they occur at such high levels of the administration, according to the weekly.

As for the second network, REALITES confines itself to noting that some 30 "Tunisian immigrants" were arrested for "having carried out espionage work on behalf of a neighboring state." The investigation is reportedly still in the preliminary stages, but "the charges against them are reported to be very grave."

In this same issue, REALITES carries a lengthy interview with Col Qadhdhafi in which he dismisses the very visible current deterioration in Tunisian-Libyan relations and accuses "agents of the CIA" in Tunisia of "spreading the poison" of discord between the two countries.

The "Guide of the Revolution" took full advantage of his meeting with a few Tunisian journalists to expand on his "message," convinced as he is that "the Jamahiriya will one day conquer the world."

6182

CSO: 4519/170

ISRAEL

ANALYSIS OF IMPACT OF LEBANON WAR ON ISRAEL'S DRUZE COMMUNITY

Tel Aviv DAVAR in Hebrew 26 Apr, 7, 9 May 85

[Articles by Yitzhaq Meridor and Musbah Halabi: "The 'Peace for Galilee Test' of the Israeli Druzes"]

[26 Apr 85 p 15]

[Text] The complete separation that was created after the establishment of the State of Israel in 1948 of the Israeli Druzes from their brothers, their coreligionists, living in Lebanon came to a surprising and sudden end with the eruption of the Peace for Galilee war in June 1982. With the renewal of the ties that were, in the distant past, close, extensive, and complex, a new situation was created that was saturated with challenges and question marks.

What was the effect of this emotional meeting between the two communities which were separated by a border for about 34 years? What did the traumatic Peace for Galilee war do to them, the Israeli Druzes? How did the war influence the community as a whole and the Druze as an individual? And more.

Did the spiritual and the other leadership of the Druze community in Israel feel that it had done all it could to influence the policy of the government of Israel in its treatment of and relations with the Druze community in Lebanon? What is the reaction in the Druze settlements in Israel to the biting and unbridled anti-Israel statements of Walid Junblatt who is accepted today by the majority as one of the most charismatic leaders to emerge in the community since the murder of his father, Kamal Junblatt, and even since the glorious days of Sultan al-Atrash?

This debriefing attempts to answer these questions and others on the basis of conversations we held with members of Knesset and several Druze intellectuals.

"The Druze Community Is Like a Copper Tray . . ."

A well-known Druze poet once likened his community to a copper tray. Every blow that lands on some part of this sensitive "tray" produces a strong reverberation that travels like thunder and alerts the entire community to rush to help, express identification, and activate the mutual aid mechanisms that had been developed during the hundreds of years of its presence in the region.

The Druzes are not a large national religious community. About 50,000 of them live in Israel, and they describe themselves with pride as Israelis in every respect. About 400,000 reside in the Shuf Mountains and in the central sector in southern Lebanon whereas about 900,000 inhabit about 300 villages and towns in the "Mountains of the Druzes" (that is, Jebel Druze) in Syria. (These figures have not been checked, and there are those who dispute them.)

The news that the heavy curtain, the northern border, had suddenly been lifted with the outbreak of the Peace for Galilee war came and spread rapidly like a fire in a field of thornbushes to the Druze villages in the Galilee, Yarkah, Julis, Yanuh, Jatt, Hurfeish, Bayt Jann, and others -- and to Har Karmel, Daliyat El Karmel, and 'Isfiya.

One of those who in June 1982 was among the first of the community to come to Khalwat al-Bayyadah, the supreme religious institution of the Druzes that is located near Hasbayya, an academy that is the highest and most authoritative decision-making authority on religious matters and that prepares the intellectuals ("uqal") for all the senior positions in the community, relates:

" . . . How can I explain this profound experience that is perhaps the greatest aspiration of every believing Druze? For 40 years I nursed and was reared on and listened with enormous thirst to the wonders of this concept, the holy Khalwat al-Bayyadah that was a well-known name to the members of my community, and I was finally there! Jews will perhaps be able to understand the greatness of this experience when I compare it, if I may, to their experience when in the Six Day War, after many years, they were able to go to the Western Wall in Jerusalem, to touch it, and to pray there."

The emotional meetings that took place in the first weeks and months after 6 June 1982 are etched firmly in the memory of the Druzes in Israel. They mention with excitement the first visit of the first Druze delegation that left Israel under the leadership of the community's spiritual leader, the old Shaykh Amin Tarif and visited the holy places in southern Lebanon. They would return and tell with unconcealed pleasure about the visits of the sheikhs and the other Druze leaders to the settlements in the Shuf Mountains and the receptions that were arranged in their honor by Emir Majid Arslan, the spiritual leader Shaykh Abu Shaqra, and others.

Dr Salah Shakib, a resident of the village of Maghar in the Galilee, received his doctorate for his work on the relations between Britain and the Druzes and their influence on the relations between the Druzes and the Maronites during the period of 1840-1860, years of conflict between the two communities. Today he serves as a lecturer in the general history department of Bar-Ilan University (where he wears a skullcap during his lectures) and in the Middle East history department of Tel Aviv University. Dr Shakib says: "Even before June 1982, in those long years of physical separation of the Druzes in Israel from their brothers in Lebanon and Syria, even then those of us who were living in Israel felt a connection and affiliation with the community in the overall sense. Indeed, when the Druzes accross the border experienced crises, the Israeli Druzes felt a need to help them. A striking example of this was what happened during the major rebellion of Sultan al-Atrash against the

dictator Adib Shishaqli in Syria in 1954. The members of Knesset who then represented the Druzes, MK Jabbar Mu'adi and MK Shaykh Salah Hanifas turned to the one who was at that time the head of the government of Israel, Moshe Sharett, of blessed memory, and requested him to send the IDF to occupy the Mountain of the Druzes and to liberate it in order to rescue the community there from the danger of annihilation and from the heavy yoke of the dictator Shishaqli. Sharett, of blessed memory, did not consent, as I remember, to do what the representatives of the Israeli Druzes asked him to do, and they, on their part, did not dare to accept the suggestion of Moshe Dayan, of blessed memory, who proposed to supply weapons to the Druzes so that they could go themselves and fight alongside their brothers in the Mountain of the Druzes. The entire matter was then removed from the agenda, but there were demonstrations of identification, and there was real worry."

These displays of identification by the Druze community in Israel with their brothers across the border ceased during the period from after 1954 until April 1975 when the civil war in Lebanon erupted. At that time the feeling began to grow among the community in Israel that their brothers in Lebanon were under siege. The murder of Kamal Jumblatt in 1977 was an incident that forced the Druzes in Israel to take a stand -- and indeed there were stormy demonstrations and days of mourning then in Israel -- and masses of people streamed to Kfar Hittin, to the grave of Jethro, that is the Prophet Shu'ayb, in order to express identification with the Junblatts, with the family of the key senior Druze leader who was murdered.

However, the Israeli Druzes could not do more than this to help. Until 1982:

"When Israel entered Lebanon," says Dr Salah Shakib, "and the government began, at the suggestion of the then Minister of Defense Ariel Sharon, to cultivate to the best of its ability the Maronite forces, with whose assistance it hoped to establish a "new order" there, a new regime that would be more suitable to Israel, the Israeli Druze leaders, including former members of Knesset Jabbar Mu'adi and Zeidan 'Atasha, tried to use their influence to see to it that the interests of the Druze community in Lebanon would not be adversely affected. On the other hand, a Likud member of Knesset, Amal Nasir al-Din, supported the government's policy from the first day and even worked energetically to strengthen the pro-Maronite Arslani action against the Junblatts, the enemies of the State of Israel.

"In my opinion," so says Dr Salah Shakib, "the Druzes in Israel believed then, and they believe today, with full and sincere faith, that there is not a shadow of treason in their identification with their brothers in Lebanon or even with the leadership of Walid Junblatt. It is a fact that despite Walid's verbal attacks on the State of Israel (I am not certain if they are always accurate quotes), the Druzes did not fight at all against the Israeli forces but only against the Maronite and Phalangist forces.

"The representatives of the Israeli Druzes again expressed to the government their fear about the fate of their brothers in Lebanon, a fear about their very existence there, in the face of the Maronite threat. The Israeli Druzes did not oppose the Lebanese war, at least not more than the rest of the people

in Israel. They only repeatedly expressed their opposition to the Begin-Sharon government's enthusiastic support of the Maronites at the expense of the Druzes in Lebanon. They complained especially about what seemed to them to be the backing of the Phalangists, a policy that permitted them to enter the Shuf Mountains and to operate against the Druzes there.

"The activism of the Druzes in Israel for their brothers in Lebanon was also in response to requests sent to them by distinguished religious and other emissaries who came to Israel from there and explicitly requested moral, political, and even material support.

"But these things must be viewed in the proper perspective. The later change of policy by the government of Israel in its attitude toward the Maronites and the Druzes was the result of various developments within Lebanon much more than because of the outcries of the Israeli Druzes here in Israel.

"It is true that the Israeli Druzes tried very hard to influence and to change the Israeli policy in favor of the Druzes in Lebanon. And there are many in the community who truly and innocently believe that they indeed were successful, and they are very happy and proud about this. However, I believe, as I have said, that this is a rather subjective feeling, and in actuality, the practical influence was marginal. Nevertheless, I do not underestimate what this feeling does for the self-confidence of the Druze community in Israel. They believe this, and this makes them stand tall in their relations with the members of the community in Lebanon, and perhaps also in Syria.

"Many also believe that our ability to influence is a direct result of our loyalty to the state, and therefore this must be continued also in the future. This feeling has only strengthened the loyalty of the Druzes to the state. It has united them and perhaps, on the other hand, weakened the opposition, the extreme left, the people of the "Druze Initiative" (described among Jews as the "RAKAH Druzes").

"The Druzes in Lebanon, so believe many of the community in Israel, were hurt in the last war also because they deviated from the "right path." They did not sufficiently observe the religious commandments, they permitted "mixed marriages," and so forth. In contrast, the Israeli Druzes can count many achievements: more unity and a growing self-confidence thanks to the preservation of their identity, their observance of the religious commandments, and their scrupulousness in not mixing with members of other religions and communities."

Na'im 'Araida, also a resident of the village of Maghar, a lecturer in comparative Hebrew literature at Haifa University and a member of the Association of Hebrew Writers, believes that two key things influenced the Israeli Druzes during the Peace for Galilee war:

"The Israeli Druze soldiers who for the first time came to those regions in Lebanon that are populated by Druzes were surprised to see the achievements and the status that the members of the community there had attained in all fields, mainly in the economic and educational ones. They compared what they

saw there with the situation in Israel, and this caused them frustration and bitterness. We, the Israeli Druzes, have paid such a heavy price in blood, and in Israel there is a democratic and enlightened system of government. Then why do we fare so badly in this comparison between us and our brothers there?

"In the contact between the Israeli Druze and his brothers in Lebanon, the Israeli learned to recognize the charismatic leadership that is prevalent beyond the border, and he compared the leadership there with that which is found here, and again, the results of the comparison were depressing and frustrating.

"In light of the virtually complete absence of Israeli Druze leadership worthy of the name, many Israeli Druzes have begun to appreciate and even admire prominent personalities like Walid Junblatt and others. Even in the "divans" (hospitality rooms) of Israeli Druzes who are known as pro-Likud, you will find hanging in a place of honor the picture of Walid Junblatt . . ."

Na'im 'Araida sounds very embittered when he evaluates the attitude of the major parties in Israel toward the Druze community. "The Alignment," he says, "has always related to us on the basis of a simple electoral calculation. 'The Druzes cannot elect even one member of Knesset.'" The Likud, on the other hand, he believes, regards the Druzes as a special minority that is worthy of respect. Indeed, during the Likud administration, the first signs of development in the Druze villages began to appear.

"In Israel very little is known about the Druzes. The Peace for Galilee war, with all its negative aspects, brought at least one clear positive result with respect to us. Suddenly our existence has penetrated into the consciousness of the entire world. Even in the United States they hear about us, they speak about the Druzes, and they are interested in us. This has also strengthened our self-pride, and this is good and important . . ."

In order to understand what happened within the Druze community in Israel during the Peace for Galilee war, one must review the activities of the Druze "Monitoring Commission" that was established at the end of 1982 under the leadership of Dr Fadil Mansur from 'Isfiya and Muhammad Ramil from the village of Yarkah and the activities during the war years of members of Knesset Amal Nasr-al-Din and Zeidan 'Atasha. One must listen to the reactions of religious dignitaries, intellectuals, and Druze fighters (including those who during their stay in Lebanon left the IDF and joined the Druze fighters in the Shuf Mountains and returned to their units after a period of time. They were brought to trial and argued in their defense that "It was a command of conscience that we could not withstand") and also to talk with people in the government and Jewish public figures who have connections with the Druze community in Israel.

[7 May 85 p 9]

[Text] Raslan Qabishi, a Druze youth from the village of Julis in the western Galilee, was a combat instructor in a crack unit of the IDF and one of the first Druze fighters who entered Lebanon at the outbreak of the war. He fought there, especially in the Tyre and Nabatiyah regions, and when the battles between the Druze in the Shuf Mountains and the Phalangists began in November 1983, Qabishi, "out of an irresistible internal impulse," joined his co-religionists who were fighting then, as he understood it, for their very existence. He took part in the capture of the Phalangist camp in 'Ayn Traz and also in the Liberation of the Druze holy places around the grave of Emir al-Sayyid. In these battles, Raslan Qabishi suffered serious wounds over his entire body and especially in his eyes.

He stayed with the members of his community in Lebanon about 1 and 1/2 years and afterward returned to his native village of Julis in Israel. Upon his return he was arrested by the military police, put on trial, and sentenced to 14 months imprisonment. With his release from prison, he was left destitute. In his despair he turned to the Monitoring Commission and requested its help.

For a long time he stayed in the home of MK Zeidan 'Atasha who promised to help him in his rehabilitation, but promises are one thing and actions are another. An entire year passed, and he received no aid at all. "If the Monitoring Commission did not manage to help me as an individual person who was wounded while providing assistance to the Druze brothers in Lebanon, then what can this commission do altogether?" he asks. The embittered Druze fighter believes that most of the large sums of money that the Monitoring Commission has collected in Israel for the purpose of helping the Druzes in Lebanon have not reached their destination at all. In general, according to him, the Druzes in Lebanon do not need financial aid but rather practical aid. "This is the kind of aid that they expected from us," he says, "but they did not receive it, and that is a pity."

"Pride, Bitterness -- and Disappointment"

We met Dr Fadil Mansur, one of the heads and initiators of the Monitoring Commission, in his spacious home in 'Isfiya. The mustached man with the short military haircut who was wearing a multicolored Druze skullcap said to us in fluent Hebrew: "The contact between the Israeli Druze community and their brothers across the border has strengthened Druze solidarity, and it has been expressed in full force. The Druze religion contains the following commandment: Protect your brother regardless if he is right or wrong. This is to say that if he is right, it is a major commandment to come to his help. If he is wrong, you must return him to the proper path.

"We, the Israeli Druzes, have been surprised by the pride of our brothers in Lebanon in their being Druzes. We have been surprised at the many intellectuals among them and also by the fact that many in the community transgress the conventional ideas and standards of the Druze tradition which we here in Israel observe much more even though we live in a more democratic, free, and open society.

"The surprise, one can say, was a mutual one. We did not know, for example, the extent of intermarriage among the Druzes in Lebanon. They were surprised by our ability to express ourselves in complete freedom and ever to influence public opinion in Israel."

Dr Fadil Mansur speaks with much bitterness about the early stages of the Lebanon war. "It is a fact," he says, "that when the IDF entered Lebanon, it gave full backing to the Phalangists and the Maronites who are the sworn enemies of the Druzes in Lebanon. The Druzes of Lebanon never had a conflict with the Jewish people. 'What do you want from us?' the Druze leaders in Lebanon repeatedly and frequently asked me. 'Why do you bring our archenemies to our doorsill?'"

"The IDF has stood by the Phalangists all along. I personally know of many cases in which the Druzes in the Shuf Mountains removed roadblocks which the Phalangists had set up, and the IDF put them back. According to the Druzes in Lebanon, the IDF entered their country in order to help the enemies of the community."

"This pained us deeply, and we, the members of the community in Israel, let out a bitter cry. I want to note that the Druzes in Lebanon did not fire even one bullet at the IDF soldiers who entered the Shuf Mountains. Despite everything, they repeatedly said: 'The IDF is not our enemy. We have brothers in Israel whose feelings and identification with their state we respect greatly.'"

"When about 2 weeks after the beginning of the war we began to receive news of the oppression of our brothers in Lebanon, we set up here on this balcony in 'Isfiya an organization of academicians that subsequently expanded and became the Monitoring Commission. This commission set itself a goal of creating a connection between the Druzes in Lebanon and the IDF authorities. We took upon ourselves, and in our opinion we also succeeded, the task of creating a dialogue between the Druzes there and the IDF. In actuality, this is the only dialogue that still exists between Israel and any community in Lebanon."

Dr Mansur does not take too seriously the recent statements of Walid Jumblatt. "Why don't you understand? In the final analysis, the man is a seasoned politician who must pay lip service to the Syrians who provided him assistance when he was in dire need of it."

"Public opinion in Israel was completely anti-Druze at the beginning of the war. All of the communications media painted the Lebanese Druzes as full-fledged PLO types, and this was simply not true. Incidentally, there is talk that to this very day there are reporters in Israel who are being paid by the Phalangists to write sympathetically about them and to blacken the name of the Druzes as much as possible. We have tried to create ties and to influence, and we have met with ministers and members of Knesset. We urged the members of the Foreign Affairs and Defense Committee to go to Lebanon and meet 'here with members of Jumblatt's Socialist Party. They indeed accepted our suggestion, went there, and returned with other views, at times contrary to those which they were fed here by the communications media. We have collected many contributions, and we have helped our brothers across the border to the best of

our ability. The Monitoring Commission of the Druzes must, in my opinion, continue to exist, at least for the entire time that Israel has connections and any involvement in Lebanon. It is important to us that the Druzes there, who are a party of interest, have an address here in Israel through which they will be able to reach the political establishment and public opinion. I believe that today there is some turning point, a beginning of consultation also with other communities in Lebanon, but this does not make one forget the well of bitterness in the hearts of most of the Druzes because of the intensive support that the IDF gave to the enemies of our brothers in Lebanon."

"The Monitoring Commission Has Caused Only Suffering and Destruction"

The "Lebanese chapter" of the Likud Druze member of Knesset, MK Amal Nasir al-Din, as he related it in a lengthy discussion we had with him in his home in Daliyya, began a few days after the beginning of the Lebanon war with the visit of the first Israeli Druze delegation to Lebanon, the delegation which went there on the initiative and under the leadership of MK al-Din and also the spiritual leader of the Druzes in Israel, the elderly Shaykh Amin Tarif.

"My opinion, as it had already been formed then and has not changed one iota to this very day, is that the Peace for Galilee war was the only war in the Middle East that exalted the Druzes in Lebanon. It caused them to succeed in preserving their identity and honor. Without the Peace for Galilee war, Syria would have become increasingly stronger in Lebanon. This war, I believe, saved the Druzes in Lebanon from losing their identity and restored to them a status of honor and influence.

"Had I been the prime minister of Israel, I would have continued the war for another 48 hours, and I would have succeeded in setting up a Lebanese regime there that we would have desired. Had they listened to me, not one Syrian soldier would have remained in Lebanon. But we wanted to be nice, and we were afraid to set up a military regime there temporarily, and this was our weakness." According to MK Amal Nasir al-Din, the Monitoring Commission caused only suffering and destruction for the Druze community in Lebanon. "The day will come, and everyone will know the truth. I advocated quiet diplomacy, a quiet attempt to influence the government so that it would treat the Druzes in Lebanon as we wanted. I suggested that we work quietly, without excessive fanfare, in order to prevent confusion and unpleasantness for the other communities there. They, the people of the Monitoring Commission, preferred noisy demonstrations. Their demonstrations and those of the Israeli left and the Labor Party are what led to the withdrawal of the IDF from the Shuf Mountains.

"This was the second mistake of the government of Israel because the withdrawal from the Shuf did not gain anything for Israel. The Druze leadership in Lebanon, Emir Majid Arslan and Shaykh Abu Shaqra, also warned me about noisy demonstrations. They also favored quiet diplomacy. The demonstrations, in my opinion, were for internal needs and came to serve interests which I am still not free to discuss.

"I can say one thing unequivocally. We, my friends and I, exercised real influence, and in several wars between the Druzes in Lebanon and the Christians

we used our influence to the benefit of our brothers there. The previous prime minister came then to us, to me and to the head of the community, Shaykh Amin Tarif, but I do not intend now to publicize full additional details." Of all those with whom we talked, Amal Nasir al-Din was the only one who did not hesitate to speak explicitly and vigorously against Walid Junblatt and his leadership. "This is a man who is totally unacceptable to Israel, and I suggested to all the Druzes who are loyal to the State of Israel to throw this man's picture out of their divan.

"I am speaking as an Israeli Druze and as a member of the Israeli Knesset whom the Druzes in the world interest very much but to a certain limit. No one will convince me that the good of the Druze community in Lebanon or in Syria is more important than the good of my state, the State of Israel. Walid Junblatt's last statement was very serious, and in my opinion, was not only lip service. I, for example, when I say something, I believe it and mean it -- and why shouldn't I think the same also about the expressions of others?

"It is no secret that the views of most of the Druze community in Israel are different than mine," the Likud man, al-Din, acknowledges to us. He adds: "Although I have different views than most of the Druzes in Israel, I believe that you will not find a true Israeli Druze "who will prefer the good of the Lebanese Druzes over the good of our state, the State of Israel, or over the alliance between us, the Druzes and the Jewish people. I believe that we must leave Lebanon to the Lebanese and preserve Israel for the Israelis."

[9 May 85 p 10]

[Text] When Shaykh Nur-al-Din Halabi was appointed 15 years ago to the position of qadi [Muslim religious judge] and a member of the Israeli Druze Shari'a court, he was described then in the communications media as a "noble sheikh like Hillel the Elder, one who pursues peace and makes peace." Shaykh Nur-al-Din Halabi is a tall man with dark eyes and a long beard who has become renowned as an outstanding authority on the principles of his faith. He acquired his religious knowledge from Shaykh Hasan 'Abdul Wahab, the teacher of religious teachers in Lebanon. Despite his lofty status among the members of his community, he maintains a great and even perplexing degree of modesty. In his home, in the center of Daliyat El Karmel, the distinguished sheikh receives his visitors while holding a tray, a pot of coffee, and small white cups. He smiles and serves his guests.

When he was asked, after his appointment as qadi, what motivated him to forego his salary (comparable to that of a district judge) for his entire life and to contribute it to the funds of the Ministry of Defense, he responded: "What motivated me was the security situation of the state, that is my state, and this people, that is my people. The defense expenditures are continually increasing, and it must be assumed that they will not decrease in the coming years. It is up to us, the citizens, to assist in the strengthening of our defense forces in which all our children are serving with love."

Because of his position he was cautious in his language, and he restricted our conversations to religious topics only. "Our community," says the sheikh, "has merited after 35 years of separation the opportunity to meet our brothers who live in Lebanon. We have merited the opportunity to visit our holy places in the Shuf Mountains and in southern Lebanon. And what is even more important, we have merited the opportunity to send tens of religious youths to the spiritual center of the Druzes, Khalwat al-Bayyadah, where they stayed many months and learned the fundamentals and secrets of the Druze religion. They returned to us more intellectual with a rich spirituality and priceless knowledge, and they have taken their place in the first rank of the Druze community leadership in Israel. They, the intellectual Druze youths who studied in southern Lebanon, are now serving as an outstanding example to other youths who are also aspiring to go there to study and to increase their knowledge."

The qadi, who is well informed about everything that is happening in the Druze community in Lebanon and who was one of the first Israeli Druze dignitaries who visited the Druze villages in the Shuf Mountains headed about 1 year ago an Israeli delegation composed of all the communities (Druzes, Jews, Christians, and Muslims). The delegations spent 3 days there, met in Dayr al Qamar with Christian and Druze leaders, and worked to achieve a reconciliation between these two communities in the Shuf Mountains. The delegation eventually made a significant contribution to the "good end" of the Dayr al Qamar situation. The Druzes finally permitted the Christians who were under siege in the town to leave safely.

Shaykh Nur-al-Din Halabi says: "We feel and know that the Druzes in Lebanon are very appreciative of the contribution and assistance that the Israeli Druze community gave to them during the war in the time of their great distress. They praised us effusively for our identification with them and our firm stand alongside them."

The renewal of ties between the Lebanese and the Israeli Druze communities and the possibility of mutual visits in the holy places there and here are very important to Qadi Nur-al-Din.

"I fervently pray," he says, "that the border will remain open even after the withdrawal of our soldiers to the international border. The open border is likely to contribute significantly to the advancement of the longed-for peace and to the strengthening of the ties and understanding between Israel and the surrounding Arab countries. In the final analysis, the Druzes are a small and persecuted minority, and we must protect each other. We will always be ready to provide help, any help that is required."

The sheikh tells us that he visited the Shuf Mountains after the IDF withdrew from there. "I passed through most of the villages," he notes, "and I can say with certainty that what I saw there was actually a de facto Druze canton. The Druzes now control the Shuf Mountains. Regarding the repeatedly asked question as to whether the Druzes in the Middle East aspire or should aspire to their own state, I can only respond from the purely religious aspect -- every religion has its own messiah. The members of every community and every

religion eagerly await their messiah. The Druze community is a community like the others. It has its own beliefs, prayers, and tradition. It also has its own messiah. The Druzes also eagerly await his coming so that they also can achieve, upon the coming of the messiah, the longed-for independence."

"Our Influence Was Greater Than We Expected"

On the eve of the 37th Independence Day, in the afternoon of the memorial day for Israel's war dead, a group of men who shared many memories gathered from all parts of the country. However, what mainly united them was their involvement in the life of the Israeli Druze community and the knowledge that they were standing in the forefront of Jewish-Druze partnership in Israel. These were men of the Druze Zionist group, the oldest Druze unit of the IDF and its commanders, those who took off their uniforms years ago and even those who still wear them. Among the assembled in the spacious divan of Yusuf Nasir al-Din in Daliyat El Karmel were, from the Jewish side, Col (Res) Shmuel Dotan, the former commander of the Druze unit and later the military governor of the Golan Heights; his executive officer in the unit, Col (Res) Isser Halamish; Motke Raz; and one who is still in uniform and in the active service, Lt Col Hayim Lubkov, the Ministry of Defense's liaison officer with the Druzes in Lebanon. On the Druze side there were Yosef Qara, a Druze intellectual and member of the Labor Party Bureau; Sharif Munha of Peqi'in; Majid Husisi, a school principal, and also the contractor Qasim Qadmani who smiled much and spoke little.

The mustached Hayim Lubkov told his friends jokingly and with a roaring voice about a conversation he had recently with a "high-ranking religious personality" in Hasbayya. "I asked him, the religious dignitary, for an explanation of Walid Jumblatt's hostile statement that the day will come when the Arab world will throw the Jews into the sea. 'What's wrong with you?' the Druze religious personality answered me, 'Walid is actually looking out for you. You all know how much Jews love to go bathing in the sea in the summer.' Then he added seriously: 'All of Walid's statements against you are lip service to the Syrians. They, and not you, helped us eventually in a difficult time, and he feels a commitment to them.'"

"The bloody war that has been going on for hundreds of years between the Druzes and the Maronites in the Shuf is not Israel's fault. However, it is impossible to ignore the fact that the State of Israel and the IDF are the ones that upset the delicate status quo that existed in the Shuf until the war," the head of the Druze Zionist Group, Yusuf Nasr-al-Din, said very painfully. "In all of the Druze villages there there are also Christians, and even in a place where there were no Christians, there was at least a Christian church, and the Druzes and the Christians in the Shuf Mountains in the past lived in complete harmony. They jointly maintained a cultural and social life, and they even intermarried. The Druzes were always in conflict with the Phalangists who want to establish a Christian European state in Lebanon. The Druzes in Lebanon are fighting for their participation in the government. It was the IDF who brought the Phalangists into the Shuf where they had no foothold until its arrival." Nasr-al-Din emphasizes: "One thing must be clear and not be forgotten. Despite the bitterness, no Lebanese Druze displayed

hostility to the IDF. The Druzes in the Shuf did not fire even one shot at the IDF soldiers during the entire 2 years that they were there. They did not shoot, they did not place explosives at the side of the road, or lay mines, but a bad taste remains and nothing can be done about it.

"Considerable political maturity is needed -- and this is also lacking among the Jews -- in order to understand that the Jewish people were not responsible for the political mistake on which the Peace for Galilee war was based but rather the one who was responsible then for Israel's security, General Arik Sharon.

The Israeli Druzes are proud of their contribution to their brothers in Lebanon from the day the war broke out. We appreciate our influence on public opinion in Israel, an influence that is much greater than our relative proportion in the population, of which we are only 1.5 percent. The Druze voice in Israel is strong. We have influenced, we have prevented distortions, and our strength has won the admiration of our brothers across the border."

Sharif Munha of Peqi'in believes that one cannot overestimate the strength of the Druze community's influence during the war. "There was a response to our outcry and we gained support in public opinion, but it was not our pressure that influenced and that changed the course of the war, if indeed there was a real change at all." Col (Res) Shmuel Dotan and Majid Husisi, each one from his own point of view, begged us to look well beyond the hostile public statements of Walid Jumblatt. "Walid's stature," says Shmuel Dotan, "is the result of his success in consolidating all the Druzes in Lebanon into a united community under his leadership, and this should not be taken lightly. Now we have a problem: how to play our chess game with this charismatic man."

"Walid today leads the Druze struggle in Lebanon which is in the category of to be or not to be," says Majid Husisi. "This is a war for existence, and Israel has no right to expect sympathetic statements from us. He is very much indebted to Syria, far more than is necessary to permit him to make such statements."

The "Red Line" on the Copper Tray. . .

It appears that the positions of the Israeli Druzes on the Lebanon war are virtually no different than those of the various groups among the Jewish population in Israel. What MK Amal Nasr-al-Din says is similar to that which Yitzhaq Shamir, Professor Arens, or even Arik Sharon says whereas the statements of Dr Fadil Mansur do not contradict the concepts of the Labor Party.

The entire Druze community, as has been said, is likened to a copper tray, sensitive, reactive to every blow, and transmitting a shudder to its edges. The Israeli Druzes are part of this copper tray, and they were zealous in providing aid and support to their brothers but only to a certain limit and no more. This "red line" that they would not cross is their unrestricted loyalty to the State of Israel. Most of the Druze community in Israel believe that during the Peace for Galilee war they demonstrated their ability to influence and to apply pressure on the establishment beyond their real strength. This feeling of strength was for most of them "good for the soul."

"Out of consideration for us, our strength, our influence, the Druzes in the Shuf avoided inflicting casualties on IDF soldiers. Thanks to us the bridges and the ties that existed and still exist between Israel and the Druzes in Lebanon were not burned completely," one of the leaders of the community in Israel told us.

The emotional and the religious experience, the exciting meeting between the two communities, and the ability to suddenly go to the Druze holy places on both sides of the border left a deep imprint on the Israeli Druze and greatly increased the self-pride of the members of the community.

"The clock must not be turned back," we heard from members of the community, the residents of the Carmel and the Galilee, "the ties that have been created and the bridges that have been built are very precious to us, and it would be a pity if they became a transitory phenomenon, a heritage of the past."

Should there be a return of the "iron curtain" on the northern border to separate the Israeli Druzes from their brothers in Lebanon? Should there perhaps be created a new situation that would permit the continuation of the existence of the complex ties that have been woven between them since June 1982?

This is one of many questions that no study can answer at the present time.

5830

CSO: 4423/50

ISRAEL

BRIEFS

CHAIR ESTABLISHED ON DRUZE HERITAGE--A chair for the study of Druze heritage will be established at the University of Haifa with the assistance of the Druze community in Israel. The announcement was made yesterday by University President Ephrayim "Evron in a festive meeting with community notables, including Shaykh Amin Tarif, which was held at the home of lawyer Zaki Kamal in Dalyat al-Karmel. Dr Hamad, chairman of the Druze local municipalities, noted at the meeting that the community will assist the university in starting the chair, whose holders will study the community and its history. [Text] [Tel Avia 'AL HAMISHMAR in Hebrew 19 May 85 p 19]

NEW CENTER FOR COMPUTER SCIENCE--A new center for computer science will open this week at the Hebrew University in Jerusalem. The center, named for the famous German mathematician and philosopher of the 18th century Gottfried Wilhelm von Leibniz, was established with the help of a grant from the Minerva Fund for Science and the Ministry of Science and Technology of the Federal Republic of Germany. The new center will be headed by Prof Mikha'el Rabin, who will work together with the computer sciences department of the Math and Natural Science Faculty of the Hebrew University. The Leibniz center for computer science will conduct both theoretical and practical research in all areas of computer science, especially in the area of computer compatibility, which is the focus of interest in the field. The center will also serve as a focal point for German-Israeli cooperation in these and other areas. The center will also deal with the subject of computer enhancement of photographs which has many practical applications. [Summary] [Tel Aviv 'AL HAMISHMAR in Hebrew 16 May 85 p 8]

CSO: 4423/61

KUWAIT

WOMEN DENIED VOTE, PARLIAMENT CANDIDACY

GF241119 Kuwait ARAB TIMES in English 23 Jul 85 p 1

[Text] The Kuwaiti feminist movement sustained a major setback yesterday, when the country's highest religious lawmaking authority decreed that Muslim women be denied the vote and parliament candidacy.

The decree, issued by the Committee for Guranic Interpretations and Legislation, was submitted to Parliament Speaker Ahmed Al-Saadoun who was to communicate it to the National Assembly.

"The nature of election processes befits men, who are endowed with ability and expertise," according to the decree, divulged by Parliament deputies. "It is not permissible that women recommend or nominate other women or men" for public posts, such as member of Parliament.

The decree contended that women are capable, through their influence within their own families on their husbands and kin, to indirectly take part in general elections.

This indirect participation, the decree stated, would "spare women the shortcomings and hazards of a direct participation in elections."

"There's no (religious) justification for women to demand the vote," it insisted. "Islam does not permit women to forfeit their basic commitments" of bearing and rearing children.

The decree hit Kuwait's feminist societies at an odd time, when their leaders were absent in Kenya attending "Forum-85," the UN Decade for Women conference.

By social and religious standards Kuwaiti women have come a long way toward emancipation. Thirty of the country's 140 doctorate holders are women.

Women hold key posts in the ministries of Education, Foreign Affairs, Health and Social Affairs.

The Awqaf and Islamic affairs minister said there was no text in the Holy Koran indicating women's right to nomination or voting in the elections. He added that Sharia principles, Islamic law and all other traditions and precedents indicated banning women from participation.

CSO: 4400/208

KUWAIT

TECHNICAL FAULT BLAMED FOR OIL REFINERY FIRE

LD121617 Kuwait KUNA in Arabic 1545 GMT 12 Jul 85

[Text] Kuwait, 12 Jul (KUNA)--A responsible source at the Kuwaiti National Oil Company announced that a fire broke out in the heavy oil unit at the Al-Shu'aybah refinery at 1530 today. He told KUNA that the fire was caused by a technical fault in the hydrogen gas line feeding the unit and that the fire was brought under control in half an hour in cooperation with the Al-Shu'aybah refinery fire brigades and the General Fire Department for the Al-Shu'aybah region. He said that the damage was light and that no one was hurt. He also said that the fire did not affect the operation of the refinery, which is operating at full capacity.

CSO: 4400/208

KUWAIT

FIRE AT WOOD STOREHOUSE REPORTED

LD121400 Kuwait KUNA in English 1725 GMT 10 Jul 85

Kuwait, July 10 (KUNA)--Five people were injured--one seriously--in Wednesday's huge fire at a wood storehouse, but a Fire Department official confirmed that the blaze is now under control.

A Health Ministry official said one person was seriously injured when a car on the fire site blew up, and was immediately hospitalized. He added that four others received medical treatment on the spot.

Meanwhile, Fire Department Director Colonel Hamad al-Badiri said: "The fire is considered now under control, but a change in wind direction can cause [a] few surprises."

Colonel al-Badiri speculated that "excessive heat which reached 70 percent of the uncovered area" as the cause of the fire which has been ablaze since the early hours of the morning at the Miscila storage area.

Six fire brigades have been fighting the fire while bulldozers are paving the way for more fire engines to enter the smoke engulfed site. Police have blocked Miscila road to allow more engines [to] enter the area.

Damage has been estimated at millions of dollars as the flames already reached nearby sites for the storage of timber used in the construction of pre-fabricated houses, and a fibreglass factory.

Talking to KUNA, Colonel al-Badiri said violators of the safety codes should be prosecuted.

Today's fire was worsened by the explosion of gas cylinders and diesel oil containers which were located next to the timber.

Efforts are still under way by storage owners at Miscila to remove timber stocks from the depots to lessen the loss, while a number of foreign workers who reside in the area said they have lost their personal properties including passports.

KUWAIT

'HUGE' FIRE BREAKS OUT IN POPULAR MARKET

LD121456 Kuwait KUNA in Arabic 1438 GMT 12 Jul 85

[Text] Kuwait, 12 July (KUNA)--A huge fire broke out in a part of a popular market in the heart of the city of Kuwait today. But the fire brigade succeeded in containing the fire after about an hour. The fire broke out in the northwestern part of Al-Silah market where there are several warehouses.

The fire broke out only a short while after it was announced that another fire had been put out in a hydrogen unit at the Al-Shu'aybah industrial estate in the south of Kuwait.

Two days ago, fire devoured three square kilometers of warehouses at the coastal Al-Musayyilah area with an estimated loss of \$50 million.

Eleven people were killed and 89 others were injured, including many women, children, and elderly people in two explosions at two popular coffeehouses in Kuwait last night.

CSO: 4400/208

LEBANON

IBRAHIM AL-AMIN DISCUSSES HIZBALLAH

Beirut AL-HARAKAT AL-ISLAMIYAH FI LUBNAN in Arabic 1982 pp 144-165

[Interview with Mr Ibrahim al-Amin: "Hizballah Is a People's Movement; It Is not a Party Organization"; from book "Islamic Movements in Lebanon"]

[Text] The learned scholar Ibrahim al-Amin, a Hizballah official, spoke about that group.

[Question] What is Hizballah? How would you present its political orientation to us?

[Answer] The term, Hizballah, seems to be new in Lebanon. It is also a political term that may differ from many of those that are in usage. To be precise, the term is derived from the Koran where it is found in a verse that says, "...Allah's followers [i.e., Hizballah] are sure to triumph" [al-Ma'idah: 56]. One may begin one's search for the roots of any idea or plan of action anywhere in the world in the Koran.

Actions by Muslims who follow the conceptual guidelines set by the Prophet and members of his family share basic characteristics and ingredients. First, actions by these Muslims stem from their total faith. On that basis these are Muslims with a mission; they are Muslims for whom the Koran is the foundation of their faith. Their mission, which must prevail throughout the world, is to make mankind live by the principles, laws and morality of the Koran.

The action is accordingly defined as one that is governed by the mission, not by man. We do not believe in Islamic action whose frame of reference is a human community, but we do believe in actions that are carried out to achieve the principles of Islam for mankind.

The second ingredient found in actions by Muslims who follow the conceptual guidelines set by the Prophet is political. Those Muslims do what they do to create a renewable political society with its own independent cultural character. Thus, conflict with all human communities that refuse to deal with Islam as a doctrine for life and with Muslims who are promoting that doctrine is predetermined.

In the Koran the messenger's position was that of messenger and leader: two

qualities that complement each other. This means that Islam is not just a doctrine to be preached, but it is also a doctrine that is to be used to establish a society of justice in the world. It is here that the conflict begins.

The third ingredient found in Muslims' actions is historical. Muslims have a truly astounding historical legacy of such actions that provides enough examples to create a society that would be moved by a revolutionary spirit and by the spirit of sacrifice and martyrdom. The fact that these Muslims are associated with the legacy of Karbala' signifies that.

A verse in the Koran defines the relationship between such people and a leader and the relationship between a leader and the people. The verse, which also defines a leader, states that "Your only friends are Allah, His apostle, and the faithful" [al-Ma'idah: 55]. A second verse carries the same meaning: "...obey Allah and the Apostle and those in authority among you" [al-Nisa': 59].

Leadership is vested in the Prophet and in the well-known imams; after them leadership goes to the foremost theologians. At the present time, in the absence of the awaited imam, leadership in this age is vested in just and impartial theologians.

This is one of the most important characteristics of Hizballah whose members understand the connection between the people and the authority figure--the just and impartial theologian. It is on that basis that actions are taken in Hizballah, whose members base their actions on decisions made by the authority figure. These decisions are never handed down to specific individuals in society; they are handed down to everybody. When the authority figure decides that a holy war is necessary, those who have to fight are not only certain regimented individuals; rather, anyone who is connected to that authority figure has to carry out his decision.

Hizballah is not a regimented party, in the common sense. It consists of a group of people who take action that is based on one decision. This is its special attribute in Lebanon, or to put it another way, this has been the special attribute of the Muslims' movement or of the Muslims' political activities in Lebanon for a long time. It was for political and other reasons that Muslims did not have as much of a cultural, political or even military presence in Lebanon as they have now. This is due to factors that occurred both in Lebanon and abroad. To be specific, it is due to factors that appeared after the victory of the Islamic Revolution in Iran. That victory meant that Islam had come to have a political and an international presence. It gave all those who have been working for Islam a position on the scene for their actions. Because the revolution's concepts and ideas are clear to Islam and comprise the experiences of people who struggled for a long time until victory was achieved, this revolution was able to impart to activists a new personality with standards and measurements that were clear even though they might have been odd in a society like Lebanon's: that society which is politically complex and whose politics are morally corrupt. The most prominent manifestations of this corruption is the absence of standards for political knowledge in Lebanon.

The Relationship with Iran

[Question] What is the relationship between Hizballah and the Islamic Revolution in Iran?

[Answer] It was quite normal for us in Lebanon to have a harmonious relationship with the Islamic Revolution in Iran with which we share a common faith, a common history and common politics. This political unity means that all Muslims assume a common position in the struggle with the world's tyrants.

We in Lebanon are now trying to measure up to that relationship between the people and the leader. This is the relationship that is a basic ingredient for victory.

[Question] Are all the members of Hizballah Lebanese citizens?

[Answer] In Lebanon, we do not derive our political existence from the decisions of colonialist countries. Our political decisions are not derived from anyone in the world but the theologian whose authority is not a matter of geography, but rather of law. Therefore, our political activity in Lebanon is never derived from Lebanon's geography but rather from the geography of Islam, which means it is derived from the world.

[Question] How does Hizballah function under Lebanon's complex political makeup?

[Answer] The purpose of our actions in Lebanon is not to achieve some interim interests, gains or similar things with the administrations. We believe that our actions are not even based on sectarian interests because our premises are not sectarian. We are not a coalition. We are rather people who are striving and trying to become people with a mission. When that mission is viewed from a human perspective, it is seen as a sect, but when it is viewed from an conceptual perspective, it becomes a way of life.

We believe that we are embroiled in a major war in Lebanon, and we believe that this war goes beyond internal reforms. This war means that there is a sharp conflict between Islam and colonialists in this part of the world.

[Question] Is Hizballah trying to achieve a position of political leadership in government in Lebanon?

[Answer] We feel that every method is being used, including the Israeli occupation which happened quite recently, to carry out actions and make plans for Lebanon because there are those who want Lebanon to take America's side in the global conflict. I am no longer interested in who becomes the president, the vice president or a minister. What concerns me is that there are people who want this part of the world to become an anti-Islamic country.

[Question] How do you view the makeup of Lebanese society, and what are your aspirations for that society?

[Answer] The society we are hoping for and trying to form is a society whose

faith and politics would give Lebanon its true position in the global conflict. We cannot think of Lebanese society as healthy and clean when it has an agreement with Israel (before the 17 May agreement was abrogated) and when it is subject to the American plan in the region. We are working to establish a society that would restore to Lebanon its real position in the conflict. This is not at all inconsistent with the facts because the facts in Lebanon did prove that there was a group of people who, under the best of conditions, were dealing with Israel and functioning as the West's historical agent. And that represents the other side of the coin. To be specific, we can think of Lebanese society today as a society that is experiencing an awakening in that regard. What is happening in south Lebanon and what has happened in Beirut, in al-Biq'a and in north Lebanon confirms the fact that this society is beginning to reject the American plan for Lebanon.

[Question] What are the organizations under whose umbrella Hizballah operates?

[Answer] It is the people who give Hizballah its general character and who make up its basic components. The principal relationship in Hizballah is that which the people have with the authority figure. But there are no organizations or similar things in Hizballah to speak of.

[Question] But do you have any relationship with the Islamic forces that are operating in Lebanon?

[Answer] Our way of thinking is clear, and our political course is clear and unambiguous. We agree with all those who pursue that way of thought and that political course.

[Question] Do you consider yourselves to be part of the army of 20 million whom Imam Khomeyni has called upon to liberate Jerusalem?

[Answer] First of all, the revolution set forth the problem of liberating Jerusalem as one of the political and ideological components of the revolution. Let's keep in mind what the liberation of Jerusalem means with respect to the downfall of capital cities.

This conflict was not just a rhetorical conflict; it was real. It did not mean that the Islamic Revolution in Iran became involved in war with Iraq so it could get to Jerusalem. It was Iraq that started the war, not Iran. This is confirmed by the fact that Iraq was used by colonialist countries when this war was declared to hinder the Islamic Revolution and prevent it from going all the way to Jerusalem. The army of 20 million is the army of Muslims which began in Iran. This does not mean that the imam wants to form the 20-million man army from all over the Islamic world; it means that he wants Iran to become the springboard for that army.

In Lebanon, we do not consider ourselves a separate part of the revolution in Iran, especially where Jerusalem is concerned. Therefore, we consider ourselves to be part of that army which the imam wants to form to liberate Jerusalem--and we pray God Almighty that we become part of that army. We follow the imam's orders because we do not believe in geography. We rather believe in change.

[Question] There are Islamic forces that recognized and accepted Imam Khomeyni as the Muslims' imam. What is the relationship with these forces?

[Answer] It is very important that people's responsibilities and roles change and that their relationship with their leader is defined. But in Lebanon when I talk about myself, I am also talking about others. I hope we can be up to recognizing and accepting the imam, and we hope that those who did recognize and accept him as their imam will measure up to that task. The imam does not exist for us alone; he exists for all the oppressed in the world. It is on that basis that we can say that a person who adheres to his declared allegiance to the imam is one whose positions and relationships conform with the political course that was outlined by the imam for Muslims in Lebanon and in the world.

[Question] Is any thought being given to establishing a model Islamic society, in Ba'labakk, to be specific?

[Answer] A regime is the product of the people's wishes. That is why we are striving to bring together all the ingredients that would help the people formulate their wishes freely and independently. After that, the people can choose what they want.

[Question] Has Hizballah established cultural and social institutions?

[Answer] I believe that what was done from a social standpoint has been modest and cannot be described as establishing institutions. We have been trying to raise the social standards of our people. But from a political standpoint we have been working with determination to develop a single Islamic position because we believe that the difficult political conditions we are experiencing constitute a clear threat to Islam as a doctrine and a threat to Muslims as human beings. Thus, the least that we must do is stand as one in opposing these challenges.

[Question] You have been accused of creating a climate of "religious fanaticism" which is inducing a number of individuals to carry out suicide missions against others. Such a mission was recently carried out against the U.S. marines.

[Answer] Fanaticism is not the cause of what happened last week, nor was it the cause of similar events in history. These incidents happen when a person develops a revolutionary spirit and a sense of martyrdom that is equal to his sense of being oppressed by enemies. This is the normal explanation for what happened last week. It may be the inevitable result of America's policy toward Islam and Muslims; and it may be a war against America's intervention.

I can say that in our society in Lebanon the revolutionary spirit has grown and feelings of hostility against tyrants have also grown. From a political standpoint it may be said that our society has a specific cause for which people are fighting and dying.

But this does not at all mean that I can claim to have had anything to do with what happened last week.

Will Lebanon Become an Islamic Republic?

The Conflict Is Not Sectarian

[Question] What do you think about the ongoing conflict, which is turning into a hateful, sectarian conflict?

[Answer] I think it would be a big mistake to describe the conflict in Lebanon as sectarian. At the same time I believe that focusing on the sectarian character of the conflict in Lebanon is part of the colonialist plan--the American and Israeli plan to be specific--to give the ongoing situation in Lebanon the character of a sectarian conflict. This is being done because giving the conflict a sectarian character would serve the interests of all colonialists in the Middle East region. It is being done so that all the plans that have been devised to disperse, break up and divide the Islamic world, in the Middle East area to be specific, can succeed. While we believe that focusing on the sectarian character of the conflict is a mistake, we also believe that the conflict in Lebanon is not one that is confined to that geographical area which is called Lebanon. This conflict is one of the conflicts taking place in the world; it is a conflict between the downtrodden and oppressed and the major centers of colonialism, at the forefront of which is the United States of America. When the conflict in Lebanon is seen in relation to all the conflicts in the world, we can then say that the conflict in Lebanon is a complete cultural conflict: a conflict between the ideas and positions of colonialists in the Middle East region and a nation of people who have been downtrodden and oppressed for many, many years.

Lebanon was created by colonialists in a manner that would serve their interests in the Middle East region. It was created by colonialists to serve as their intellectual and cultural gateway to the Middle East. But Lebanon's makeup did not turn out to be what the enemy had planned because it carried within it all the seeds of dissolution, domination and injustice. The makeup of Lebanon carried everything that is being called at the present time the conditions for one group dominating another. This is because the system's makeup is based on the Maronites' domination of other groups. Today, it is the Christians, who make up the Phalangist Party and the Lebanese Forces, who are politically and militarily dominant. They control all aspects of life in Lebanon, and they dominate the rest of the groups that can be found in this country.

There will be conflict in the world wherever there is injustice and domination. This domination is neither religious nor sectarian; that is, it would still be objectionable even if it were non-Christians who were dominant. Any injustice practised by anyone in the world would also be objectionable. We do not discriminate between Muslims and Christians in our rejection of injustice. When conditions in society are such that a person feels he is being treated unfairly by a regime, a sect or a group, those conditions are objectionable. But the injustice that can be found in Lebanon is injustice of another kind. It is the kind of injustice that has dumped into Lebanon all kinds of political, military, intellectual, educational and cultural weapons that would change the people's character and adapt it to the western character. For a long time many groups and communities in Lebanon may have been victimized by that weapon which can be found there. It is a weapon whose ultimate aim is to involve Lebanon in the

conflict and turn it into a foothold for colonialists as well as westerners in the Middle East region.

Everything the West did through Christian communities and organizations, through cultural and educational institutions, and even through the regime and the regime's makeup and relations, has been aimed at turning Lebanon in the Middle East region into a foothold from which colonialists--the United States or France--could oppose the Islamic world's civilization, thought and doctrine. I believe that despite everything that has happened during the 10 years of the war and despite all the internal battles, the enemy of Islam and of Muslims has not been able to implement his plan. This enemy's agents in Lebanon did not succeed either. They were not able to turn Lebanon into a base from which they could oppose Islam in the Middle East region.

These battles proved to everyone that today's Islamic world is wide awake and vigilant, not only for Christians, but also for a colonialist plot that some Christians in Lebanon, represented by the Phalangists, could be involved in as agents or operatives. Prevailing conditions have established the failure of that plan. In opposing this plan--and we would oppose it even if non-Christians were behind it--we are opposing everyone who is part of the enemy's plan in Lebanon, even if he were Muslim or Shi'ite. This is because the conflict we are involved in in Lebanon is not a conflict between one person and another, nor is it a conflict between a Muslim and a Christian. It is a conflict between the down-trodden and the unfair; it is a conflict between one danger and another. This other danger manifests itself in the footholds the enemy has established with all his resources, weapons, agents and operatives.

These operatives we are facing--and this is part of the state of conflict--do not make the conflict we have in Lebanon one between an Islamic sect and a Christian sect. Islam is not a sect, and it would be incorrect to call it a sect. When Islam, which is an intellectual and a cultural doctrine for mankind, becomes a sect, it turns into a tribal doctrine that creates a tribal society, which [may be divided into groups that are] called an Islamic sect, a Shi'ite sect or a non-Islamic sect.

This is completely inconsistent with Islam's conceptual content which, as the Holy Koran says, is a doctrine to mankind that "We have sent you forth as a blessing to mankind" [al-Anbiya': 107].

An Islamic Plan, not a Plan for Muslims!

[Question] Do you have a clear, political plan for Lebanon? To be specific, are you trying to turn Lebanon into an Islamic republic modeled after the Islamic Republic in Iran?

[Answer] We are bringing the message of Islam to life and mankind. It would be normal for anyone who is affiliated with Islam in this sense to have a plan that would serve the interests of Islam in this world. But once in a while, when crises become more intense and when politicians reach dead end roads and hold others responsible for what is happening in Lebanon, questions are raised about establishing an Islamic republic in Lebanon. The establishment of an Islamic republic in Lebanon comes up either as a demand or as one of the objectives of political activity in Lebanon.

I would like to say that so far there is only one political plan in Lebanon; that is the Christian plan. That plan, which has been spelled out in the Lebanese Front's positions and statements, considers Lebanon a national homeland for Maronites. The Christians, as a sect and as human beings, want Lebanon to have that sectarian makeup. Christianity here is not a school of thought; it is not a regime or a system of relations; and it is not a political course. Christianity in the world is not Christianity at all; it is something controlled by American policy. I cannot say that American policy is a Christian policy, but I can say that Christian society is controlled by American policy and western policy in general. Setting forth a Christian plan in Lebanon means that Lebanon is being called upon to become controlled by western politics whose operatives would be the Christians in Lebanon. The results and effects of such a plan would be such that the question which must be raised about it is this: what will become of Muslims? The answer to that question may be very simple and easy. Muslims in Lebanon will either become part of that system and part of that entity, or they will remain outside that system and that entity. That is, they will be outside the country once and for all. We may then have to face a situation similar to that of the racist Jewish regime in occupied Palestine.

Palestinians had the choice of becoming part of a Zionist system or getting out of the country. A Christian plan that would be set forth in Lebanon will not be based on Christian principles, but it will rather be based on the fact that colonialist countries will control this country. One of the most important drawbacks to such a situation would be the problem of Muslims' fate in Lebanon. Hence, this problem develops in the face of that plan. To make their plan realistic, Christians are insisting that Muslims in Lebanon have a plan similar to theirs. The media in the country and abroad are reporting that Christians assume that Muslims too have a plan just like the one Christians in Lebanon have. While one plan reaches out to the West, the other reaches out to the East. And that is what is dangerous and critical about the matter. Let me say quite unequivocally that we do not wish for, we are not working for and we would not at all be honored by a Muslim plan that counters the Christians' plan in Lebanon. We do not advocate such plans for Lebanon because we do not advocate control and domination by one person over another.

Yes, we do have another plan, and that plan is countered by another in the world. We believe that the world today, especially during this political stage, is facing one of two plans. The Middle East region in particular is about to face one of these two plans.

According to one plan the region is to become one nation; another plan for the region involves dividing it into nations, sects, denominations and tribes. The prevailing political situation in the region is one of tribalism and sectarianism. The nature of the countries in the Middle East area is both tribal and sectarian. If we wish to respect the value and significance of our statements, then it would be incorrect to say that there are countries in the region. There are rather tribes and sects which are controlled by a grand plan for colonialist domination in the world. This dissolution of people, land, systems, thought and culture in the Middle East region is part of the enemy's prevailing plan.

Let me cite a simple example here: the Arab-Israeli conflict has not yet become the central issue in every Arab country. Today, any Arab country has its own issue; the conflict with Israel comes second. Until a short time ago the conflict with Israel was directly related to the Palestinian people; the Arabs came into the picture after the Palestinians. Herein lies the fragmentation of the issue and the battle with the enemy. The enemy has succeeded in fragmenting the issue and the battle with him, even in the Ramadan War. Through the Camp David accords, the enemy succeeded in getting Egypt out of this conflict to assure the world that his conflict is not with all the Arabs, but with the Palestinian people who would thus be undermined and weakened to a point at which the conflict with Israel would come to an end.

As a Muslim I Am Looking for My Future!

This is one of the ongoing plans in the area, and Lebanon, which is part of this area, is controlled by this plan. That is, Lebanon is to have its own, independent entity. Christians talk about that entity's privileges and qualities with a cultural and historical specificity that they trace all the way back to the Phoenicians and such people. Their aim is to create an independent entity in the Middle East area. That entity could be created in any other country that has those specific qualities. Any society of this kind that is taught a certain culture with certain specific qualities stakes out a certain relationship with the enemy so it can create some kind of independent entity in the Middle East area.

As a Muslim I too can present the same specific qualities, and I can also present the same guarantees that are being presented by Christians in Lebanon. But when Lebanon becomes a link in a chain that connects it to the West, then I too want to look out for my future, and I want guarantees for that future. Ultimately, I want to find a country in which my culture and my history can be asserted. Thus, Lebanon would have several plans and several entities, and ultimately, there would be several formulas for the regime. Today politicians are talking about such formulas as partitioning, federation, confederation and similar formulas. What matters is that all these plans are part of the plan that is prevailing through the enemy.

If I, a Muslim, wish to create a political entity in Lebanon, independent in that sense and under those political conditions, then I believe that I would unwittingly become part of the enemy's plan. It is on that basis that we must look for and think about a harmonious plan; [we must not focus] on the problems that individuals have. This means that we should not be looking for a plan that concerns itself with solving the problems that individuals have. Instead, we should be looking for a plan that would solve mankind's problem and the nation's problem. When I have a problem in Lebanon, I can come up with a solution to that problem from a Lebanese perspective and solve it. In this regard we can talk about the equation of the Lebanese regime and the rights of sects in Lebanon; or we can talk about the presence of Shi'ites in one or another position.

I believe it would not be right to talk about private problems in Lebanon. Our search must be aimed at the problem of mankind in the world as a whole and in the Middle East. What then is the plan for a solution?

I said a short while ago that there were two plans: the enemy's plan and the plan to turn the region into one nation. When I say a plan to turn the region into one nation, I mean that the region would be changed so that Islam would become a doctrine of life in the region, not just a moral doctrine. Islam would become a doctrine of life comprising the ideal and the best regime for mankind. That plan went into action with the victory of the Islamic Revolution in Iran. That victory marked the birth of that plan in the world. Revolution on that basis then is not an Iranian matter; it has to do with a plan that concerns the entire world.

Everything that is being planned today against the Islamic Revolution is being done to oppose that plan [in action] as well as in thought. There are no Islamic countries and no Islamic regimes. There is only one Islamic regime and one Islamic country in the world, and it is formidable. The plan that is being set forth today, the one-nation plan, is a plan for a formidable Islamic country. This plan considers more matters than just mankind, concepts and the message of Islam. Any person anywhere in the world who carries this message can become part of that plan even if he were not a Muslim in the sectarian sense of the word.

We do not wish to set up a plan for Muslims in the Middle East, nor do we want to set up a plan for Muslims [in general]; but we do want to set up a Muslim plan. This is the difference between having a plan for Christians and a plan for Muslims, and having a Christian plan to counter a Muslim plan. We would be willing to discuss a Christian plan if that plan were based on the principles of Christian doctrine, but we would not be willing to talk about a plan for Christians. At the same time, we would not be willing to talk about a plan for Muslims either.

Uniting the Nations of the Region

Today, we are considering an Islamic plan that is based on Islamic thought and doctrine. The plan which is being presented to the world today is a plan for one nation: the great state of Islam. It is on that basis that we are about to become involved, from a political standpoint, in action to unite the nations of the region. All the cultural, intellectual, historical and even geographical factors are favorably disposed to such a plan. The people are also emotionally receptive to that plan because of the continuing state of injustice that they have had to face in the Middle East from the enemy. Thus all the opportunities for continuing and expanding this plan exist, and that is what Imam Khomeyni meant by exporting the revolution.

Exporting the revolution does not mean that the regime in Iran would be dominating the peoples of the Middle East. What is assumed here is the rebirth of the Islamic region. Islam, not man, would become dominant in these nations. I do not want any other man to dominate me here in Lebanon or anywhere else in the world. I want to submit to a doctrine and to ideas. Our actions in Lebanon are based on that. They are based on a legitimate responsibility and on political conviction as well. We do what we do so that Lebanon can become part of the plan for one nation in the Middle East. We do not believe it would be normal to have an Islamic state in Lebanon outside that plan for one nation; we want Lebanon to become part of that plan. This matter is not intended for Christians at all; it

is intended for all the peoples of the Middle East. It is not directed against Christians; it is rather directed against all those who oppose this plan, Christians and others.

Unless circumstances were to change again from a political standpoint, it is our objective belief that if Lebanon were to break its political relations with the principal enemies, it would come closer to the one-nation plan. We ought to get foreign influence--that is, American and European influence and ultimately Israeli influence as well--out of Lebanon. This affirms that the plan to make Lebanon part of that one nation will come close to a final conflict with Israel. This is because we want Palestine too to become part of that one-nation plan; we want Jerusalem to become the geographical and sacred religious symbol for that one-nation plan. No one should think that we are taking actions to try to bring about an improper political situation. We do not get involved in the political quagmires that are prevalent in Lebanon today. We are, however, trying to make people in Lebanon become part of the plan for unity so that Lebanon can become part of that one-nation plan.

This is the framework for which we are working in Lebanon. It is on that basis that we say we support all sects and everyone in Lebanon who rejects the colonialist plan in the Middle East and the plan to partition the region. We also support everyone, Muslim or not, who works for the victory of this plan. We extend our hands to all our honest countrymen who refuse to become part of the American-Zionist plan in Lebanon.

Minorities Do Not Have a Plan

[Question] There are many minorities in the Middle East. How do you think they will react to the plan to unite the nation under the banner of Islam?

[Answer] When a major plan that poses an intellectual, political and cultural threat is set forth, and when that plan comprises an integrated system for a large society, I do not believe that such a plan would become a problem for minorities because they do not have a plan in the first place.

A problem would develop when one plan is produced to counter another. Minorities in the area do not have a plan, but the problem in the area is the United States because it does have a plan. There is no problem between the plan to unify the nation and minorities.

When this plan becomes fact and when it is implemented as an organizational framework, all the special qualities of minorities will be taken into consideration. Let me ask why is it that the problem of minorities is raised when an Islamic plan is proposed? This is because the minorities that can be found today in the region are controlled by the American plan. They have kept their own special qualities. But when the Islamic plan is proposed, the enemy goes out of his way to bring up the subject of minorities to oppose the Islamic plan. This is the big mistake that is being made even in Lebanon.

Christians in Lebanon do not have a plan because they are considered a minority; as a minority, Christians do not have a plan, but they do have their own special qualities, and they do have a special problem. When they have a special problem,

that problem will be solved by that plan to make Lebanon part of that one-nation plan because that plan has enough flexibility to preserve the rights of all these minorities. But the enemy can create this problem just as he created the problem of the Kurdish minority when the Islamic Revolution broke out in Iran and when the Iraqi president tried to create an Arab problem in 'Arabistan (Khuzistan). Today, the one-nation plan has been able to come to grips with all these problems because the Kurdish problem has become a Kurdish plan; the Arab problem has become an Arab plan; and the Maronite problem has become a Maronite plan. None of these is a national plan, and none of these plans can oppose the one-nation plan. There is no such thing as a minorities problem in the plan to unify the nation because minorities do not have an integrated plan that can oppose a plan to unify the nation.

We Are Causing Israel To Cave In

[Question] What are the priorities of what you are trying to achieve in Lebanon regarding the ongoing struggle?

[Answer] Lebanon is where we carry out our actions. Of course we do not wish to work in Mars! Lebanon is where we do our work. It is a place that is dominated by numerous assertions, and that is quite a problem. Our actions are taken to achieve a certain objective. We must pray to God when we take the actions we take in Lebanon. At the same time our actions in Lebanon do not have a sectarian background. We also think that it is not at all normal to propose a formula for the regime or a quota for the administration while Lebanon is being ruled by an Israeli presence and by the direct and indirect presence of the Americans and the French. Everywhere in the world when people want the freedom to choose, those people must be first of all free. They can make a choice after that. Unless a person is free, he cannot make a choice. When Lebanon was not free, it chose the United States and Israel and signed the 17 May Agreement. And we know what happened in Lebanon after that.

If we want to make a choice in Lebanon, we must be free. If we want to be free, we must take action so that Israel, the United States and France would have no political and military presence in the country. When people in Lebanon can make their own decisions, when they can decide their own fate, and choose the form, the formula or the identity of their regime, then they can make any decision they wish to make.

But when Lebanon is experiencing these conditions it has been experiencing, and when it is being dominated by that presence which is dominating it, talking about reforms would not be normal at all.

It is on that basis that we believe we are directly involved in a principal way. We have the honor of being the ones in the world who are causing Israel to cave in in the Middle East and in the world. Lebanon is the place where we must prepare all the opportunities for action to oppose Israel. We must do everything we can to oppose the American, French and colonialist presence in general in Lebanon.

What will happen after that when Lebanon becomes free, will depend on the circumstances.

LEBANON

QUESTIONS ABOUT ISLAMIC REPUBLIC DISCUSSED

Al-Shaykh Fadlallah Interviewed

Beirut AL-HARAKAT AL-ISLAMIYAH FI LUBNAN in Arabic 1982 pp 246-277

[Interview with Al-Shaykh Muhammad Husayn Fadlallah from book "Islamic Movements in Lebanon"]

[Text] The learned scholar Mr Muhammad Husayn Fadlallah is saying that topical conditions in Lebanon would not permit the notion of an Islamic government to be proposed. It would be unsuitable to propose that Lebanon be turned into an Islamic republic because Lebanon is experiencing sectarian conditions, and there is conflict between Islamic and Christian privileges. Proposing such an idea could terrify the other party whose thinking is motivated by the wish to preserve its privileges and its supremacy.

In this interview Fadlallah calls upon Christians to talk about Islam as a body of thought and an integrated code of laws because Islamic society, unlike other societies, is diverse. Fadlallah also calls upon Christians to unite with Muslims so that the real dangers that are facing the citizens of the same country can be confronted.

Fadlallah thinks that the problem in the Islamic world today lies in the conflict between the concept of an imam as religious leader and the notion of succession. There is conflict also about the characteristics of a ruler. These problems can be resolved through dialogue. Fadlallah affirms that the Islamic Revolution in Iran is facing two conditions: the first has to do with those who disagree with the revolution about the form of an Islamic state; and the second has to do with those who are trying to destroy the revolution and put an end to this experiment.

Fadlallah indicated that colonialists had tried to use nationalism to bring about the disintegration of the Islamic character even though Islam does not deny the notion of nationalism despite the fact that it is not a well-rounded notion. Nationalism remains an emotional condition that borrows from other conditions the means by which it can grow and thrive. Nationalists appear to be willing to join Marxists to oppose colonialism.

The text of the interview follows:

The Rise of the Islamic Movement

[Question] The Islamic movement in Lebanon has grown considerably in the past few years. What do you think are the reasons for that growth?

[Answer] One of the reasons why the Islamic movement has grown may be the difficult conditions that people in this country have been experiencing as numerous political movements have come upon the scene. At one time people thought these movements would save them, but either recent experiences or the unsettled conditions have shown them that these movements cannot achieve their ambitions. Islam was being proposed at that time or before, but it did not constitute a major movement on the scene. This was the result of an idea which stated that religion cannot face life with realistic, political assertions.

Islam was being proposed, but no strong Islamic actions were being taken. Many people in this country may have thought that they could try out that proposal or go along with it, especially since it would get them out of the intellectual equivocation they were experiencing between Islam and politics. That may be one of the reasons that contributed to the growth of the Islamic movement. Another reason may be the major Islamic awakening that has spread throughout the Islamic world through the Islamic Revolution in Iran. Third, the growth of the Islamic movement may be attributed to the religious spirit that lives in each person's heart and induces him to contemplate the religious aspects of life in religious terms. If a person thinks that religion can comprise all aspects of his life, he can then start out from there. Any one of these reasons or all of them collectively could have been the cause of this phenomenon. Or there may also be other reasons for it.

One School of Thought

[Question] You've called the growth of the Islamic movement phenomenal. Does this mean that it could end?

[Answer] Not necessarily. I meant that it appeared to be phenomenal, but it may also reach far enough to make it last.

[Question] Why is it that the Islamic movements in Lebanon do not have the same intellectual background and political premises? Can all these movements in Lebanon subscribe to the same school of thought as long as they are working in Lebanon and for it?

[Answer] I believe that Islamic movements in Lebanon do not have an intellectual background and political premises in the precise sense of these terms. This may be due to the fact that most of the Islamic movements that present themselves for political action in Lebanon did not try looking into problems realistically; they did not face the facts from all aspects. These movements did not try to solve problems by finding solutions that are based on Islam. The reason for that may be due to the fact that the actions taken by these movements were reactions to what was happening at the time. Those actions were not based on what they wanted for the future. It may seem that the Islamic assertion took off by making people believe in Islam or because people believed in Islam. The Islamic assertion may have taken off to confront emergency situations, such as

the Israeli situation or the state of domination that can be found in the country, or to resist colonialism in general or other such situations. I believe that many, if not most, Islamic movements start out with ideas that lack a general principle. This may be due to the fact that these movements were facing what was happening at the time with a short-term solution and were not facing the future squarely.

I believe that having one school of thought for all these movements in Lebanon is achievable because these movements have the seeds for such unity. But how can that unity develop when the Islamic movements are still living under a prescribed framework that is the result of separating Muslims of one tendency from Muslims of another. This suggests that sectarian sensibilities in Lebanon have succeeded to a certain extent in dividing Islamic movements in Lebanon, just as they succeeded in dividing people. That may actually be an existing difficulty, but I believe that leaders of these Islamic movements can face that difficulty one way or another, and they can overcome it.

There Is No Disagreement between Sunnis and Shi'ites

[Question] Political unity can develop, for example, in a plan to oppose Israel or in a plan of that sort. What I meant by my question about whether there can be intellectual unity among Islamic denominations is this: can a new denomination, for example, evolve from the collection of existing denominations?

[Answer] Islamic denominations are actually independent points of view on the interpretations of Islamic law. It is on that basis that we notice that these Islamic denominations agree in more than one aspect when they address the notion of a legitimate government for Muslims. This is not a question of having a new denomination that would unite existing denominations, but it is a question that is based on an intellectual tendency that would take action to create an opportunity for some kind of independent initiative which would not be considered by isolated Islamic laws an impediment to unity in the general framework.

We've noticed that Islamic countries have lived with this diversity, and they were able to preserve their unity. Why then do we look at the question on the basis of two denominations: the Sunni and the Shi'ite? There are several denominations among the Sunnis, and perhaps before these denominations were recognized as official, there were many other denominations besides these. Nevertheless, people who followed the same course or were members of the same society were not as divided as they are now. There are also theological differences among Shi'ites, and these differences depend on the independent interpretations of the authorities. There are several authorities at each stage, and the formal legal opinions of each authority may differ from those of another. But those differences did not threaten the Muslims' unity. Therefore, the question of Sunnis and Shi'ites is not a question of different theological denominations, but it is rather a question of differences over the concept of an imam. We believe that this problem can be solved in the world we are living in today. Today, for example, we do not have the problem of an imam in the actual, practical sense of the term. The problem over the concept of an imam is manifested today in the problem of government: who is to govern? Of course, there is no imam in the actual, present sense of the word. Therefore, the difference is not about who will rule Muslims, but it is rather a difference over the qualities of a ruler.

Some Islamic tendencies are proposing the theory that a theologian should rule. They are saying that a theologian who is proposed for that office is one who would combine all the qualities that a Sunni would believe in. The proposal about taking counsel that is being proposed among Sunnis is also being proposed among Shi'ites. It is for this reason that the problem does not actually lie in having numerous theological denominations; the problem rather lies in understanding the theory of government. In the past this was considered a problem because the theory was represented by individuals: should this person or the other rule? Should the imam's descendants or the caliph's descendant's rule? Today, however, I believe that an agreement can be reached and that a uniform formula can ultimately be produced on a certain basis. Although the ideas that would go into producing that formula would be different, the outcome could be the same. In that respect there is no problem that cannot be solved; there is a problem, but a solution to that problem is not impossible.

The Succession and a Theologian's Rule

[Question] Islamic circles are discussing the possibility that succession can be established in the Arab homeland to correspond to the "theologian's state" in Iran. How would you comment on that?

[Answer] When we are faced with any situation, whether it is the Islamic situation in Iran or any other situation, it would be quite normal for us in this regard to be facing two problems: the problem of those forces that are trying to destroy that experiment, and that of those people who disagree with it.

Regarding the problem of those who disagree with this experiment, there is an Islamic opinion which states that an Islamic government must be handed down through a line of succession. The problem these people have with Iran may lie in their assertions that they supported the revolution and that if the revolution were to propose the idea of succession, they would declare their loyalty to it. Some Islamic movements subscribe to that opinion, but we must not think that this matter is very difficult. We may have a dialogue about a formula for the succession: should it be an Islamic formula for all times? Could there have been a certain stage in history that required the succession? The question is an intellectual question. We can be faithful Muslims, and we can become engaged with the other party in an intellectual dialogue.

On the other side are the forces that are trying to take advantage of many existing conditions to hurt this movement. This involves conflict with the Islamic Revolution, the Islamic course or the Islamic Republic whose conflict is with colonialist forces, with forces that have ties to colonialists, or with forces that oppose Islam. Naturally, every tendency that wants to thrust itself on reality must make preparations for that. Such a tendency may have the resources by means of which it can establish a foothold in the country. However, the storms that may develop in some cases may be too great for these tendencies to handle, and that would involve conflict with other forces that are trying to take advantage of all existing drawbacks to hurt a certain tendency or a certain movement.

A Difference in Form, not in Substance

[Question] These movements, and there are many of them, have not been invited to a meeting for all of them. Are impediments to such a meeting superficial, or do they have something to do with the intellectual background of each of these movements?

[Answer] It can be said that this has nothing to do with the movements' intellectual backgrounds, in the deep sense of the term. We notice that meetings for Sunni or Shi'ite Islamic movements that are found within the framework of Islam do take place. When these movements have a meeting, they find that there are no major problems in their agreements or views. However, I do believe that there is an estrangement that stems from the fact that Sunnis are not active in Shi'ite organizations and Shi'ites are not active in Sunni organizations.

It can be said that what we have is more a case of superficial sectarianism than a case of profound differences in intellectual backgrounds that can prevent a meeting between Sunnis and Shi'ites. We do not feel that there are profound differences in the intellectual backgrounds of these two groups that could prevent a meeting between them. But we do feel there are psychological barriers that in some cases may be due to the fact that Sunnis have stayed away from Shi'ites geographically and historically. Sunnis have lived alone, and Shi'ites have lived alone for a long time. They have certain feelings as a result of that. But I believe that time will solve many of these problems. Today, Sunni religious scholars communicate openly with Shi'ite religious scholars; and young Sunnis communicate openly with young Shi'ites and vice versa. I believe that questions which involve a psychological factor or a historical factor, if one may say so, can be solved in a normal manner. I believe that the fact that all these people have not been called to a conference does not stem from the differences in their intellectual backgrounds, but rather from these problems that one may describe as superficial or psychological. I am addressing this subject in particular because I met with many colleagues who are involved with that tendency, and I found that there were no intellectual barriers between us. I may have sensed some apprehension on one side such as the fear among Sunnis of being accused of becoming a Shi'ite, for example, or vice versa. But this is a question that can be solved in time.

[Question] Do you think there is danger that the Islamic movement could induce those who are leading the campaign for sectarian separation to partition the country because the other side fears that movement?

[Answer] When the other party fears Islam in a sectarian sense and worries about its privileges and so on, then political action to assert Islam at this stage of the political movement would create not only fear, but terror. At the same time we are trying as much as possible to make Christians and all others understand that when we propose Islam, we are proposing a complete body of thought and an integrated code of laws, just as a Marxist would present Marxism and just as any party that is active on the scene would present its thoughts and ideas. When we propose Islam, we do so because we want to divorce Islam from the sectarian atmosphere which suggests nothing but historical animosities, guarantees, privileges and such matters.

We want Christians to talk about Islam as a body of thought and as a code of laws. [And why not], since they do not have a Christian code of laws or a religious law as such. Christians believe in the separation of church and state. And we say, what is the difference between the law that is now in effect, for example, and Islamic law, French law, Marxist law or any other law? Christians do not fear Marxism, except from a theological standpoint. At the same time, they fear Marxism from a political standpoint, perhaps because of their political affiliation. Of course, they do not fear French, British or American laws. We tell them that Islamic law is one code of law whose application is being called for. Since they don't have a religious alternative to it, why then don't they give this code of law a chance, as long as it does not pose a threat to religion as such. If the question has to do with concern that the dignity of Christians might be undermined when they live as free non-Muslim subjects in a Muslim country, we can then look into this matter, and we can talk about the nature of what Islam proposes in that respect. We can also talk about what happened in history or in some stages of history. Was what happened attributable to the Islamic course or was it attributable to the poor application of that course? No body of ideas and no tendency is exempt from poor application.

We believe that the fear which Christians have is aroused by the sectarian atmosphere which is stirred by Christian figures who govern and are in control. Sectarianism is not stirred up by Christianity; it is stirred up by those Christian figures who have nothing to do with Christianity as a religion and a way of life. We find that Christians in Lebanon do not rule by Christian principles; they do not rule in accordance with the values and ideas of Christianity. They rather rule Lebanon as any tribe would and as any group that is trying to dominate would. That is why we have always been saying that it would be very easy if the issue had to do with a conflict over what constitutes Islam and what constitutes Christianity. The problem has to do with those Muslims and Christians who understand nothing about Islam and Christianity but the selfish interests and privileges of the individual or group.

We do not believe there would be a problem if the issue had to do with Islam and Christianity. The problem rather lies in the question of privileges for Muslims and privileges for Christians, and that has nothing to do with Islam as a religion or with Christianity as a religion. The question actually arouses major fears among others, just as it arouses major fears among Muslims whose actions are modeled after those of the others as far as their privileges are concerned. Therefore, the problem is common among traditional Muslims and among traditional Christians.

[Question] Is Islam a sectarian religion or a religion for mankind? In other words, is Islam engaged in a conflict with Christianity and Judaism, or is it involved in a struggle with capitalism and socialism?

[Answer] Actually, the Islamic religion, as we understand it, is a blueprint for life. If one may say so, it has its own intellectual point of view on theological and philosophical questions. It has its own point of view on man's legal and political status, and such things. It is thus different from Christianity and Judaism in a number of conceptual respects: those that have to do with the Creator, for example. Islam differs from Christianity in some particulars, in matters that have to do with the prophet, in other details that

have to do with the faith, and in some legislative issues. Therefore, when Islam presents itself on the scene, it does not become involved in a conflict with Christianity and Judaism because Christianity does not present itself as an alternative to the existing situation in general. Christianity still makes a distinction between what is due to Caesar and what is due to God. When Christianity becomes involved in actual life, its involvement is not based on a religiously oriented political course that it has. Judaism also does not present itself as a universal religion in so far as it is a universal theory for ruling the world.

Judaism has turned into a national religion. That is why within that general framework we do not consider ourselves to be in conflict with Christianity and Judaism. We have differences with Christianity and with Judaism as a result of some particulars. Therefore, when the subject does come up we note that Islam did coexist with Judaism and with Christianity. That is why we see an Islamic society as a diverse society. But when we study those societies that were ruled by Judaism and Christianity, we find that they used to abolish Islam. This is exactly what happened in Andalusia when Christians overcame Muslims. But Islam does not abolish Christianity or Judaism in an Islamic society because Islamic society is a society for coexistence and diversity. This is not just theoretical talk: Islam does accept Moses as the prophet of the Jews and Jesus as the prophet of Christians.

Now that we are in the modern age we find that there are Christians and Jews in countries that were ruled by Muslims. Thus, there is no conflict between Islam and Christianity. What may be said, however, is that there is a universal intellectual conflict between Islam and capitalism and between Islam and socialism because Islam presents a theory or a way of life and confronts many of life's problems in a manner that is different from that of socialism and capitalism. Islam wants to have jurisdiction over everything; socialism wants to have jurisdiction over everything; and so does capitalism. It is in that sense that Islam can become engaged in a conflict, but in its present scene of action it will not become engaged in a conflict with Christianity or Judaism.

Islam Worldwide

[Question] Islamic ideas call upon those who espouse them to assume the reins of power. It has been noticed that none of the Islamic movements has proposed this in Lebanon. What is the reason for that?

[Answer] The reason for that may be that when one wants to present an idea, one must lay the groundwork for it and create conditions that would allow that idea to thrive and grow. We feel that at the present time Lebanon is not suitable for such an idea because the ideas that can be found in Lebanon today are sectarian and not based on principles. We notice that when Muslims and Christians think of Islam, they think of it in a sectarian manner. And within Islam Muslims think about denominations. An ordinary Shi'ite may have different ideas about what happens in the real world than an ordinary Sunni may have. That is why we find that at the present time the idea of an Islamic government would embroil Islam in this sectarian conflict. That idea would thus become one of the tools of the disturbing sectarian conflicts. We feel, therefore, that it is essential that when the idea of Islam is presented on the scene, it should set its own

intellectual scene which can make others think of it from that perspective: a perspective that tells one that Islam can become a body of thought that can stand up to other bodies of thought; Islam can become a code of laws that can stand up to any other code of law.

We proclaim the authority of Islam. In fact, it may be that proclaiming the authority of Islam and proposing the idea of an Islamic government at this stage of the game could do away with that idea altogether because it would embroil it in the sectarian game. That is why we feel that from a realistic standpoint, the problem in Lebanon at this stage is not the problem of whether or not Islam should rule. The objective conditions for that are not available. The problem that people in Lebanon have is that of removing sectarian and partisan domination. Muslims as well as Christians are entitled to making their own decisions.

If we can make Muslims and Christians join forces at this stage and think together about a few issues that concern the interests of the country as a whole and if we can make everyone face common dangers as a whole, Muslims and Christians can then communicate openly and freely with each other. It is then that there might be an opportunity for presenting and discussing this idea. It is through such a discussion that the idea of an Islamic government could go from being one of the aspects of the ongoing conflict and become one of the choices that would be available in the future in this regard.

To summarize, we do not believe that the objective conditions that are required for the growth of any ideas or slogans exist in Lebanon, but we believe that these possibilities may come about in the future, just as they did in the past when the call for Islam took off. Our call for Islam is not restricted to Lebanon; it is worldwide. If a Marxist can change an existing fact in Lebanon, why can it not be realistic for a Muslim to contemplate changing the minds of others in Islam's favor through dialogue?

Nationalism Affirms Islam

[Question] The masses of the Islamic movements in Lebanon are the same masses that were involved in the nationalist movements of the fifties and mid sixties. What in your opinion would happen if the tide of nationalism should return? Would the masses give up the sympathy they have now for political Islam?

[Answer] Some of the reasons for the success which nationalist movements have had, at least in the Arab world, may have had something to do with the question of liberation from colonialism and the tyrannical pressures that were exercised by the Ottoman Caliphate. The Islamic experience with the Ottoman government was not a pleasant experience; in its final days the Ottoman government had turned into a Turkish government that was ruling Muslims in the name of Islam. At the outset colonialists tried to capitalize on this idea, so the idea of nationalism was proposed to bring about the disintegration of the Islamic character and the Islamic world. Colonialists thus tried to portray nationalism as the means by which people can be rescued from all the persecution that was being inflicted on them. Of course in this regard the magic was used against the magician, and nationalism became an idea that fought the very core of colonialism. However, the problem with nationalism lies in the fact that its presentation of the issue is incomplete. The idea of nationalism was created with something missing

because it came to life as an emotional idea. When it turned into a political movement, it tried to borrow from intellectual political movements a course and modes of struggle just as it tried to borrow a system from Marxism and other isms.

We noticed that nationalism could not support a framework of integrated ideas. Thus, nationalist figures rather than nationalist ideas were the springboards for action since nationalism does not lend itself to details or to intellectual and legal courses of action. That is why proponents of nationalism appealed to the distinctive character of the people. When that happens and when ideas and principles for guidance are disregarded in such an appeal, the people to whom such an appeal is being made cannot be expected to go along with one in every respect unless one can create for them a second and a third personality in which the nationalist personality would take hold. It is for this reason that we think that nationalism cannot stand up to Islam when Islam takes action that is based on intellectual positions and realistic methods as well as proper experience in this regard.

There is one problem that nationalist thought in Lebanon can benefit from. It has to do with the fact that there are different religions in the Arab world. That creates a problem for those who are trying to unite the Arab countries or the regions that can be found in Arab countries. An Islamic solution can be provided for that problem because, as I said, Islam is a religion for coexistence. We notice that nationalism was unable to get the other party to start out on the right track in this regard. We also notice that ever since it was born the Palestinian problem has not been presented from an Islamic standpoint, that is, from the standpoint of an Islamic movement. It may have presented general issues from an Islamic perspective. But except for a few Christians and Christian leaders and thinkers, we did not notice that Christians, as Christians, felt that the Palestinian cause was their cause even though nationalists were trying to move them in that direction. Although the Palestinian question did create a problem for Christians--which is comparable if not even greater than that which it created for Muslims--the connection between nationalism and Islamic ideas among Christians still exists. They think that nationalism lacks an independent outlook and a historical perspective. There is no national history that is not Islamic history, except that history which is prior to Islam. Christians think that neither this Islam nor this history imparts the spiritual experiences of man. That is why Christians, even those who think in nationalistic terms, feel that Arab nationalism has an Islamic character, Islamic ideas and an Islamic history. That is why they opposed nationalism when they opposed Islam. And that is why we do not think that the nationalists' experiment of bringing Muslims and Christians together in one movement at the expense of Islam will serve the interests of nationalist causes and will succeed from a realistic standpoint. Nationalism cannot stand up to Islamic thought. We feel that Islam does not turn its back at all on feelings of nationalism. In other words, Islam has no problem with the unity of Arabs. Unity is a framework, but what will the picture inside that framework be like?

Islam says it is the picture inside that framework; Marxism says it is; and the western way of life says it is. There would be no problem if the Arabs in the region were to unite within a general Islamic framework. Others can also form

their own union, and the two groups could cooperate in that regard. These are questions that can be agreed to. At any rate we think that the Muslim masses were the nationalist masses because nationalism was presented itself in an Islamic manner and it was presented in an Islamic environment. That is why it was not able to defeat Islam. In fact, nationalism affirms Islam in that respect.

Lebanon: an Islamic Republic

[Question] Do you think Lebanon can become an Islamic republic?

[Answer] Speaking objectively from the standpoint of Lebanon's existing political, human and intellectual conditions, an Islamic republic cannot be achieved in Lebanon today. But as far as the future is concerned, one can think that future boundaries are determined by one's success in setting forth those ideas that one advocates. We believe that nothing is impossible as far as the future is concerned. Just as Islam and Marxism were able to grow and just as many ideas were able to thrust themselves, an Islamic republic can develop in Lebanon and in other countries as well in the near or distant future depending upon the objective conditions that would be available for the birth of a government of a certain kind.

Transforming Ideas to Reality

[Question] Some Islamic movements are critical of this apologetic approach for the failure to turn Lebanon into an Islamic republic. How would you respond to that?

[Answer] We do not believe that this proposal is incompatible with Islam, nor do we believe that it is an apologetic approach. It is rather an attempt to achieve the objective. One is not canceling one's objective. The apologetic approach cancels one's idea and one's objective. But in this regard one is canceling neither. Instead one is trying to find grounds and make preparations for one's idea to be put into action. We believe, for example, that if the Islamic idea were presented in Europe at a time when Muslims could not make that idea materialize, no action will be taken on it, and that Islamic idea will continue to exist as an idea. But what we are proposing here is a full-fledged Islamic government. We are telling people that Islam can govern and that it could become the body of ideas that can solve economic, political and other problems. But, realistically speaking, to consider this stage one in which Islam and an Islamic government can be put into action requires one to have the capability to do that. When one thinks about transforming ideas into reality, one has to find in reality the circumstances, conditions and tools that can take part in that process instead of just letting those ideas continue to exist as ideas in the realm of the ideal.

[Question] Does your eminence have a draft political, economic and social law that is derived from Islam ready that you can use to protect Lebanon if a majority of Lebanese citizens were to call upon you to do that?

[Answer] We do, of course, have a general framework along these lines, but we don't have anything specific because we can only address these specific matters by what does actually happen on the scene. In the absence of an actual frame of

reference, one cannot think in specific terms about such matters because they would differ depending upon the time and nature of the stage. We do have general political and economic guidelines, and we do not claim they are integrated in the proper sense of the term, but we do claim that they try to integrate these matters so that an image of how Islam views life, when it wishes to govern, can be imparted. But as we've said, we do not think this is the problem in Lebanon because, we believe, this is not the time for Islamic government in Lebanon.

Objective and Regional Conditions

[Question] Is Lebanon's transition to an Islamic republic linked with certain regional and international conditions, or is the decision to turn Lebanon into an Islamic republic a decision to be made by the Lebanese people themselves that has nothing to do with those around them?

[Answer] Actually, when one wants to consider the process of change, one realizes that it cannot be done in a vacuum. We do understand that Lebanon came into the world as a result of regional and international political conditions that contributed to its creation. These conditions are, of course, at work today making some proposals that would put an end to Lebanon altogether. They would put an end to Lebanon as one country by partitioning it or turning it into a federation or something like that. When one considers the process of change, one must take into account the real conditions that surround one because these conditions will inevitably have an effect on one's decision to turn one's idea into reality or to keep it from being realized. We cannot isolate regional and international objective conditions from the process of change in Lebanon--whether Lebanon becomes an Islamic republic, if the objective conditions for that become available, or whether it becomes a Marxist state or something else. We cannot rule out objective political conditions in the region and in the world. Therefore, we do not understand that proposal which states that the Lebanese people should think for themselves! The Lebanese people will not allow themselves to think about that by themselves because they believe that their ideas are derived from their intellectual and political commitments and affiliations. By the same token, others will not allow them to think for themselves and to put their own house in order, at least as far as what is actually happening, in so far as that is based on ideas, is concerned.

Lebanon Is a Time Bomb

[Question] Lebanon is a political rallying point for the West. What do you expect western reactions would be in case Lebanon were to turn into an Islamic republic?

[Answer] Of course when we talk about unsuitable objective conditions, we are taking into consideration the West's basic assumptions about Lebanon. That is why we think that the West will prevent Lebanon from becoming an Islamic republic. The West will use force or as much force as possible to prevent the establishment of an Islamic republic in Lebanon and in some of the other countries in the region. In fact, the West may find Lebanon to be the country where the idea of an Islamic republic in the entire region, not just in Lebanon, may be dealt a severe blow. We believe that this is one of the major difficulties not only for the creation of an Islamic republic in Lebanon, but also for the establishment in Lebanon of an equilibrium that would be based on the

peaceful coexistence of Muslims and Christians and derived from the fact that they have equal rights and obligations. Lebanon was created by the West as a time bomb that could be detonated at any time. Therefore, the question for the West is to prevent Lebanon from becoming an Islamic government. In fact, the question for the West is to prevent Lebanon from becoming a viable state where opportunities, rights and obligations would be equal and balanced.

Nationalism Is Not Realistic

[Question] Where in your opinion does Arab nationalism stand today in the battle of Islam against colonialism?

[Answer] First of all, we must not think of Arab nationalism as representing an integrated body of thought. Arab nationalism rather represents an emotional condition that creates or contributes to the creation of a political condition. This emotional condition, which is felt by everyone, comprises a person's sense of belonging to his land, his language and the people with whom he lives. I believe that Arab nationalism, along with some of its proposals, can and did play a part in opposing colonialism. However, when we want to think of Arab nationalism, we still don't find it to be realistic as a framework and an idea. But if there were to be groups that think along nationalist lines, we would have no objections to cooperating with them as Muslims to oppose colonialism. We are even working with Marxists to oppose colonialism, and we will work with any other group until we get beyond this stage and into another.

There is no problem. The fact that one would work with any group at a certain stage does not mean that one recognizes that group's ideas as legitimate when issues disavow intellectual distinctions. We feel that we cannot do everything by ourselves. That is why we are proposing to all the forces in Lebanon that oppose Israel to become united politically and militarily so they can confront Israel in this regard. We believe that our reservations about the National Movement that was or is being proposed in Lebanon are due to the fact that the National Movement did not represent a national movement. It rather represented certain alliances within one framework. And each alliance was trying to use the National Movement to further its own interests. There was no regional spirit that had a single objective. This is the secret behind the National Movement's failure. It may also be the secret behind the failure of the Palestinian Resistance, where each one has been trying to take advantage of the sanctity or the nature of the framework to further his own interests. That is why there are special considerations instead of general considerations for the entire cause. But we do not have a problem in this respect.

[Question] Questions are being asked in Islamic circles about the nature of Your Eminence's relationship with the [religious] authority, Abu al-Qasim al-Khaw'i. Can you shed light on that relationship?

[Answer] Mr Abu al-Qasim al-Khaw'i is my teacher. I was his student in al-Najaf. He also taught most of the Shi'ite Muslim scholars in Lebanon and elsewhere. In Lebanon I represent the authority's general authorized representative. However, that does not prevent me from having relations with other religious authorities. Just as I have relations with Mr al-Khaw'i, I have intellectual, spiritual and legal relations with Imam Khomeyni and other religious authorities.

[Question] How do you reconcile these relationships, especially when the Islamic Revolution in Iran found Mr al-Khaw'i's political positions less than what they had hoped for?

[Answer] I believe that the position Mr al-Khaw'i assumed in Iraq stemmed from his feeling that he could not do much in Iraq. Fellow Muslims in Iran may have thought that he could have done better, but of course they do give him the benefit of the doubt in this regard and in the way he is thinking. We believe that he does not have very many opportunities in Iraq to act in the way or manner that can be found in Iran.

Observations on Islamic Action

Beirut AL-HARAKAT AL-ISLAMIYAH FI LUBNAN in Arabic 1982 pp 269-277

[Text] If the question has to do with an Islamic political action whose proposals, methods and objectives are synthesized, then the answer would be we know of no such action in an Islamic framework in Lebanon. But if the meaning of the question has to do with the organizational activities and political proposals of various Islamic plans, then we can confirm that such a synthesized Islamic action does exist.

Some time ago--it may be as early as the fifties, when a few Islamic movements began in Egypt, Syria or Jordan--Lebanon came onto the scene with a political proposal that called for Islam to become a system of government and a way of life. That proposal opposed the traditional view which considered Islam to be a moral code and a system of worship in the context of a general conceptual, doctrinal view. But we feel that such movements have not been able to have an impact on the political scene in Lebanon and become an active force in it. These movements were restricted to the creation of cultural circles with political aspirations in some areas. That may have been the product of Lebanon's political makeup, which is subject to a sectarian framework that deals more with the form of religion and less with its intellectual content. It may also be the product of the shrill manner that was used to propose Islamic political ideas: these ideas were proposed in an environment that was as far as anything could be from flexibility and wisdom. Islamic leaders at that time may have been driven in their actions by an enthusiastic spirit and by general ideas that lacked a clear view of the picture. They were thus going around in circles voicing vague and irrelevant ideas.

There may have been other reasons, besides those that we mentioned, stemming from the restraints that ruling political tendencies had placed around that tendency whose growth and development under the influence of a religious spirit was feared. It was feared that that tendency could violently and effectively dominate the environment.

That tendency developed into an Islamic political movement after the Palestinian Resistance Movement rose to prominence. At first the Palestinian Resistance had an Islamic flavor since it initially had Islamic political aspirations that manifested themselves in the mental attitudes of some of its leaders who had had an Islamic background or who had grown up in an Islamic environment. The Palestinian question moved in an Islamic environment as well as in a regional

and a national environment. Then the Islamic character of the movement faded and its other characteristics faded too because the Islamic tendency had not attained the political power that would have enabled it to force itself on the Palestinian question and the Palestinian movement. An idea was also being proposed at that time to keep Islamic ideas out of the Palestinian question's course so that it would not lose [the support of] non-Muslims in the region.

The Resistance embarked on acts of violence, and the sequence of events was rapid. Political movements with an Islamic character grew in this climate; they voiced people's local and regional concerns in an ambiguous manner that confused the doctrinal and the sectarian. One felt that somehow people's feelings, emotions and negative attitudes were being manipulated. The military atmosphere dominated the scene, and the cycle of violence was beginning to escalate. The Resistance had to have shrill, provocative slogans, and the Islamic tendency was ready to act. And so there came to be a sectarian problem in Lebanon: its effects on Muslims' lives were negative even as it brought privileges to others. And people in the area lived through the partisan conflicts in a climate of dictatorial regimes that divested political parties of their revolutionary political content and then used them as a front behind which they could hide. These and other happenings had some drawbacks which could have generated a climate of violent tension in Lebanon.

The Islamic Revolution in Iran was like an earthquake. It created a new climate of possibilities: restraints were removed, and Muslims found in themselves a sense of power and new hope that the Islamic political theory could steer life. The revolution in Iran made it possible for the Islamic tendency to become a movement that thrust itself on Islamic political thought, led it into a sharp confrontation and forced it to assume a vehement and decisive stance to pursue the course of a holy war against colonialism and against Israel. Then sectarian proposals began to overshadow Islamic proposals until they practically took over all aspects of the Islamic movement, and the dividing line between what is sectarian and what is Islamic was lost in some cases.

Islamic action started its opposition course by using various mobile military methods to challenge the enemy locally, regionally and internationally. After the Israeli invasion Islamic action became something akin to the only force that was able to take a decisive stance against the challenges on the scene. Thus, others began to sense its far-reaching danger, especially after the recent explosions against American, French and Israeli military positions. The media were thus inclined to hold that tendency responsible for all that, and they tried to describe it as a terrorist tendency whose danger stems from the spiritual aura it evokes to lure adolescents into such operations, promising them [eternal] paradise as their reward for martyrdom.

Whether that accusation was true or false, whether it had regional or international political implications, or whether it was an isolated or a semi-isolated case, the emphasis that was placed on that action gave it considerable importance on the basis of the political atmosphere it created, the danger it represented, or the dangers that were awaiting it from local and outside forces.

And reactions to the question are still continuing in more than one respect.

This has been some of the history of the Islamic Movement's actions. But I do

not think there is a future for this action despite the difficult challenges that it is facing and the frightening thoughts it conjures up because of the strong ingredients it has for growth and development. However, the danger that is presented by those forces that oppose the Islamic Movement with their media and their political and military methods are significant. But we believe that these forces cannot eliminate the Islamic movement because the spirit of martyrdom lies deep. It is that spirit which can protect the movement from failure; in fact, it may even help to strengthen it and further it in the nation.

But we believe that the question, the entire question, lies in the steps that Islamic action will take on its own to affirm a realistic plan whose view of political, social and economic conditions in Lebanon is unambiguous. The question lies in the steps that Islamic action will take to affirm the various factors that affect people's negative and positive feelings. This is the principal condition for the survival of any political movement, which is considered a phenomenon of life, subject to all objective conditions for existence and survival that other phenomena are subject to.

The sectarian sensibilities that people in this country have been experiencing in what is almost similar to a neurotic condition, may have a negative effect on the Islamic movement in Lebanon because it could turn the matter into a sectarian condition in the minds of the movement's activists. Or it could turn the feelings of people in other sects against the Islamic movement. Those people may be willing to consider Marxist proposals, but they are not willing to consider Islamic proposals objectively and thoughtfully.

Movement activists must confront this situation realistically and carefully, and they must adopt a long range approach to contain sectarian drawbacks in an attempt to turn them into advantages for life and mankind.

Observations on Islamic Action

I could start out my observations on Islamic action with a few points.

1. Islamic action is still divided among numerous organizations and movements in which sectarianism is confused with Islam. Some narrow, local tendencies may also be involved in these organizations, and that is why there has been no uniform political plan. Instead, we've had a group of different views and in some cases a group of conflicting views.

2. Sectarianism continues to characterize Islamic action. There are Islamic actions undertaken by Sunnis, and there are Islamic actions undertaken by Shi'ites. The wariness that may exist between the two groups gives their actions a sectarian character, since Sunnis do not react to Shi'ite Islamic action as though it was their action, and Shi'ites do not react to Sunni Islamic action as though it was theirs.

This situation thus influenced many personal feelings about some political conditions in Lebanon that may assume a certain sectarian character. It divided positions on Islamic issues on a sectarian basis locally, regionally or internationally. The political situation was thus frozen on a sectarian basis, and

dialogue was no longer feasible, just as is the case in any other sectarian situation. This situation has created numerous, different problems for those who have been trying to unify Islamic action. This story is just like that of Islamic unity among Islamic sects that have had their share of intellectual and practical problems.

3. I believe that Islamic action does not yet have an integrated view of the political reality in Lebanon. The nature of its objectives, the means by which those objectives can be achieved, and the climate of its relationship with other political tendencies or with the local authority are not integrated with plans for strategic and tactical positions and other such issues that would make action practical and more realistic, even though it may be divorced from the movement's principles and tendencies.

4. One of the problems of Islamic action may lie in the vagueness of its ideas which are being proposed in Lebanon. Because of their vagueness these ideas come close to the realm of the absolute where people look for boundaries that define for them where a course of action would begin and end. The secret behind that vagueness lies in the supernatural mentality that still dominates religious thinking in its outlook on life, particularly political life. We know that religion does not consider the supernatural to constitute a foundation for men's lives and actions. But the question in Islamic thought is this: when one wants to make an organizational plan or a plan for change, action is to be based on the reasons and considerations that take all the particulars of the scene into account.

Politics cannot operate in the realm of the absolute and supernatural. Politics must have a realistic, objective view with which it could face the roots of each problem. The supernatural could represent divine mercy here and divine protection there to rescue some of the steps that are actually taken in some areas where support and protection are needed.

5. Islamic action is still subject to many individual counteractions that thrust themselves on the scene on the basis of engaging in practices that are almost insane because of the shock and provocation they arouse. These actions are taken without considering their negative consequences on the major issues. Such a climate of counteractions may provide many opportunities for many non-Islamic political transgressions that try to take advantage of some accord between Islamic proposals and theirs and use the Islamic atmosphere to serve their own interests.

One such opportunity may have been the attempt made by some non-Islamic tendencies to take advantage of this Islamic spirit and manipulate the good intentions of Islamic leaders to achieve specific gains. For example, certain truths would be stated so that evil could be gained. This induces us to inquire into what the statements that are being made could lead to before we determine whether they are truthful or not.

Reactions in the Islamic political movement are carried out in an atmosphere of rhetorical zeal; military actions are improvised; and suicide missions demonstrate a personal response to situations, not part of a practical plan of action. Thus, Islamic action and every action that proceeds along those lines

become shots in the dark whose consequences remain unknown. No matter how much tumult and enthusiasm they create, their impact is soon lost in mazes that have no foundation and no basis.

God spoke to us about reason in many verses of the Koran. We know that reason does not become agitated and that it tries to temper and discipline the passions so that one would know how matters would end before they begin. Will the activists in Lebanon remember that "the wise [are to] ponder [the Koran's] revelations and take warning" [Sad: 29]?

What Do We Want?

We want Islamic action in Lebanon to define what it wants to do in Lebanon. Does it want an Islamic state like the one that is being proposed by some? If it does want such an Islamic state, does it consider that to be a realistic objective that can be carried out so that the matter would not stay in the realm of the absolute? Or does it want to achieve a high standard for Muslims' political, cultural and economic presence in Lebanon? We believe that when one has a vision and when one's ideas are not vague, one's actions do not get lost in the shifting sands of time. We are raising an important point here. That point is that military methods are not the only methods by which the major objectives of a holy struggle can be achieved. Indeed, these objectives can be achieved by several practical means and methods that include making preparations to attain results. We have to consider the military aspect of Islamic action to be a defensive means that is subject to specific, well-defined and well-considered political and legitimate conditions.

Furthermore, there is another very sensitive point. Those who are working for Islam on the political scene have to make it clear to Christians and other groups in the country what their thoughts and aspirations for Lebanon are so they can spare the country from being engulfed by a political, sectarian climate that consumes everything in sight, as they say. Critical positions are being experienced because of misunderstanding.

Regarding ideas for developing this action, I would think that a close look at the observations we've made would suggest that we look for means by which we can bring about positive reform and change when we begin taking action to get rid of the negative aspects. We are to proceed realistically in a manner that considers reality, not from the realm of the supernatural, but from the realm of God's laws for mankind.

8592

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SAUDI ARABIA

AL-RIYADH COMMENTS ON ASSASSINATIONS IN ARAB COUNTRIES

GF250814 Riyadh SPA in Arabic 0715 GMT 25 Jul 85

[Excerpt] Riyadh, 25 Jul (SPA)--Under the headline "Will the Slogan of the Arab Murderers be Raised?", the newspaper AL-RIYADH reviewed different opinions among Arab countries or sects regarding physical liquidation. It asserted that the assassination of a diplomat representing any Arab country will not change the nature of any regime which is politically guided by special convictions when this diplomat is liquidated as a declaration of terrorism and resorting to the power of jungle law. Likewise, the kidnapping of a young man in an Arab street will not remedy the sectarian divisions in Lebanon or remedy famine.

AL-RIYADH emphasized that assassinations and terrorism in the Arab world can be attributed to the bitter lack of a system or project of human education in human principles in a society which has been tarnished as a society of the impaired. The Arab individual deals with others with complete individuality, that is, he feels that he alone is the law and that all his actions draw their source from this personal law, either through force of arms, money or by seeking the protection of a higher authority or power.

AL-RIYADH urged an end to disputes and urged resolving them through temperate and calm discussion, and said that concessions must be a state of mind for preserving Arab security. Otherwise, a day will come when the Arab identity is put on the contraband list which will not be permitted by law to enter any other country.

CSO: 4400/208

SAUDI ARABIA

POLITICAL, ECONOMIC RELATIONS WITH AUSTRIA REVIEWED

London AL-MAJALLAH in Arabic 3-9 Jul 85 p 8

[Article by Wahib Muhammad Gharrab in Vienna: "Prince 'Abdallah, Visiting Vienna, Says That Arab Rights Are Not Negotiable"]

[Text] "Austria will continue its support for the Arab cause, and changes in political faces will not mean any change in Austrian policy, especially with respect to the Middle East." This is the stand which Austrian Chancellor Dr Fred Sinowatz wanted to affirm to Saudi Arabia's Crown Prince, Deputy Prime Minister and Head of the National Guard Prince 'Abdallah bin 'Abd-al-'Aziz. Last Wednesday Prince 'Abdallah concluded his 3-day official visit to Vienna at the invitation of the Austrian government, which wants to develop its relations with Arab countries, especially the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia. The visit received much attention from political and diplomatic circles, in view of the role it will play in strengthening and continuing Austrian support for the Arab cause.

During one session of official negotiations between the two sides, the Saudis expressed their satisfaction with Dr Sinowatz's assurances that Austria's position on the Middle East would continue as outlined and formulated by Former Chancellor Bruno Kreisky, whom the Austrians have nicknamed "the friend of the Arabs."

Dr Sinowatz stressed that Middle East peace cannot be achieved unless it is based on just foundations; that Israel cannot ensure its future through occupation; and that its security can never come about or be achieved except by returning the occupied Arab lands and giving the Palestinian people their right to self-determination.

On his part, Prince 'Abdallah bin 'Abd-al-'Aziz affirmed his government's appreciation for Austria's stand on the just Arab cause, and expressed its appreciation for the Austrian government's continued policy of support for this cause. Prince 'Abdallah spoke of Arab efforts to bring peace to the Middle East, and in that connection affirmed the Arab position that the Arabs want peace and are striving to achieve it, but want a peace which is based on just foundations, because Arab rights are legitimate, non-negotiable

rights. There can be no peace unless those rights are restored and the Palestinian people are allowed to determine their own destiny and establish their own independent homeland. Otherwise, things will remain as they are.

A Firm Stand

Inasmuch as Austria wants to strengthen its excellent relations with the Kingdom, even though it is Saudi Arabia's second trading partner after the United States of America, the Austrian stand on the Arab cause will without a doubt have a positive effect on the development of relations. That is, the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia's relations with this or that country are affected, negatively or positively, by the nature of that country's political stand vis-a-vis the Arab cause. Developing economic relations with the Kingdom, with relations as good as is the case with Austria, is an easy matter. That is to say, the Kingdom's markets are open to everyone, and Austria could develop and strengthen its presence, as some sources are saying, to make it even greater than it is at present. But the Austrians' problem is that they don't want to leave their homeland to work overseas. This complication has existed a long time, and it is not easy to foresee when it will end.

The two countries' economic relations are good; the volume of their trade exchange amounts to 7 billion Austrian schillings (US\$350 million), and the Kingdom is the prime source of energy for Austria.

But could Austria possibly become an importer of the petrochemical products which the Kingdom has begun exporting? In this connection, Saudi Ambassador to Vienna Yusuf Matbaqani says, "The Austrian market is limited, but even so we want to export our products to it, and in this context we have conducted numerous negotiations and are continuing to do so."

In addition, in the near future the two countries will sign an economic cooperation agreement and a cultural cooperation agreement, the first drafts of which were drawn up during the visit to Riyadh last September by the Austrian deputy prime minister and the minister of trade. Austria wants to strengthen its relations because it feels that the Kingdom is a very significant country. Here we might sum up what Austrian Chancellor Dr Sinowatz said about the Kingdom: "Austria greatly admires the Kingdom's industrial growth and its comprehensive development in all areas, which show that it has become a major, important country in world society. Austria's admiration is not limited to the Kingdom's development alone, but also encompasses full respect for the political tendencies which the Kingdom is following." In this context, Dr Sinowatz said that Austria also admires the policy of wisdom and sensibility which distinguishes the Kingdom's political tendencies.

Respect For Austria

On his part, Prince 'Abdallah bin 'Abd-al-'Aziz affirmed the Kingdom's full respect for Austria, and said in his press statements, "Austria enjoys particular respect not just in the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia but throughout the Arab and Islamic world, because we feel that in all of Austria's political actions,

its stands, especially with respect to the Palestinian cause, have derived and still derive from principles and values, and not from advantage and interests. There is nothing strange in that, for Austria is a country whose values are characterized by historical continuity, in spite of its various successive governments."

Going back over the issues covered by the bilateral negotiations, we find that the Iraq-Iran war occupied a significant portion of these talks. There was a meeting of minds as to the need to stop that war in view of the danger it represents and the lack of any justification for it to continue. In this context, Prince 'Abdallah bin 'Abd-al-'Aziz explained the efforts which the Kingdom has made in company with fraternal Arab and Islamic countries, and its own efforts made along with various other countries, to bring this war to an end. In the same context, he explained the Arab League's efforts, made through the seven-member commission and the Islamic Congress Organization. Throughout the negotiations, Prince 'Abdallah stressed that the Kingdom's stand calls for stopping this unjustifiable war, which is nothing but a personal war.

8559

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SAUDI ARABIA

SAUDI ASTRONAUT DISCUSSES SHUTTLE MISSION

London AL-TADAMUN in Arabic 15-21 Jun 85 pp 17-20

[Interview with Saudi Astronaut Prince Sultan bin Salman bin 'Abd-al-'Aziz, by AL-TADAMUN: "The Selection of Saudi Arabia Had Its Reasons, and My Nomination For the Mission Was Not Connected With My Family"; conducted on 17 June 1985 in Houston]

[Text] When the countdown for the launch of the American shuttle "Discovery" on Mission 51-G began on 17 June 1985, AL-TADAMUN was meeting with Prince Sultan bin Salman bin 'Abd-al-'Aziz, one of the shuttle's crew members and the first Arab astronaut, in order to conduct a final press interview before he took off on a space flight which might have seemed ordinary to most of the world but which was a historic trip for the Arab world, which was participating in this flight through the Arab Satellite Communications Organization's nominee, Prince Sultan bin Salman bin 'Abd-al-'Aziz.

In the course of the interview conducted by AL-TADAMUN, Prince Sultan explained some aspects which were still unknown, such as why Saudi Arabia was chosen to represent the Arabs on this historic mission, why he personally was selected to make the trip, and what he expected to do once he returned safely. Here is the text of the interview conducted before the countdown for Mission 51-G began.

[Question] What is your work schedule aboard the shuttle "Discovery?"

[Answer] The work schedule assigned to me for the 7 days of the trip includes placing Arab Satellite No 1-B in orbit, which will be done on the second day. I will also conduct three experiments and some other tasks for the Arab scientific team, and will perform, or more properly participate in, French medical experiments along with the French astronaut.

[Question] Is the second Arab satellite a replacement for the first one? Is this the reason for the postponement of "Discovery's" launch date, as is conjectured?

[Answer] The second satellite (ARABSAT 1-B) is not a replacement for the Arab satellite launched in February, but a back-up for it. In case the first

satellite fails, the second one will take over its functions immediately. On the second day, we will place ARABSAT 1-B in a low orbit, after which its rockets will be fired to lift it into its fixed orbit around the earth.

As for your question as to whether it was the reason for the postponement, this has no basis in fact. The delay was due to the manufacturers of the other two satellites--Mexico's "Morillos" and America's "Telstar." The manufacturers exercised their legal right to delay the launch up to 72 hours without penalty. ARABSAT had absolutely no connection with the delay, although there were some technical difficulties which almost delayed its delivery. However, these were overcome, and we hope that the satellite will be launched as planned, God willing.

Why Saudi Arabia?

[Question] Why was Saudi Arabia in particular chosen, out of all the countries which belong to the Arab Satellite Communications Organization [ARABSATCO]?

[Answer] As you know, this mission's most important objective is to launch the satellite. We are participating in the scientific side of the flight on behalf of the Arab group, regardless of who carries out the mission. The Kingdom of Saudi Arabia provides more than 30 percent of the financial backing contributed by the 22 member countries of the organization. Furthermore, the Kingdom has assumed the costs of building the main ground station, and the organization's headquarters are in Riyadh. Also, the Kingdom has been helping some Arab countries, which are facing financial difficulties but which urgently need satellite services, build their own ground stations. I want to stress that it is not just the Saudis who are participating in this mission, but that the Arabs are participating. This is what I and my colleagues on the Arab team are doing. During the training sessions at NASA, I really made an effort to make this point, and for this reason they call us the Arab team.

There Was No Favoritism

[Question] Is the fact that you are a member of the royal family a contributing factor in your selection for this mission?

[Answer] On the contrary, I was one of many military and civilian candidates, and like them I went through examinations and reviews, either by the Saudi committee at the beginning, or by ARABSATCO committees, or by the final examinations conducted by America's NASA.

Once I was selected as the prime candidate for this mission, the Saudi officials were reluctant to accept the committee's decisions, fearing that my selection would be misinterpreted, or that someone would think that there was favoritism. But after confirmations and consultations between both sides, they decided that qualifications were the first and last deciding factor. I have more than 1,000 hours of flying time on jet planes, and I was the only one who had worked with satellites before, because of my job at the Information Ministry. Because of the mission's importance from the information standpoint, and because I have a degree in information from the University of

Denver in Colorado, and, finally, because I passed all the physical fitness tests, I was chosen. In fact, absolutely no partiality was shown towards me; on the contrary, there was a reluctance to select me out of fear of just such a supposition. No favoritism has ever been shown towards me before. I still hold a Grade Seven position at the Information Ministry, the usual salary in the Kingdom for whoever has qualifications similar to mine.

[Question] You are now about to go down in history as the first Arab astronaut. What do you hope this mission will achieve?

[Answer] Naturally, I hope to carry out the basic tasks entrusted to me, from placing ARABSAT in orbit to performing experiments, as well as conducting a photographic survey.

However, more importantly, I hope that this united Arab participation will achieve its greater purpose, which I envision as the creation of enthusiasm for the sciences among Arab youth. I say this whole-heartedly, because for an Arab astronaut to go up, and an Arab scientific team to participate in four experiments, is not a scientific triumph in itself. It is far more important to seize the information opportunity symbolized by the flight and translate it into a means to direct young people throughout the Arab world towards research organizations and scientific production. I also hope that through this participation we will spotlight men of science themselves, impart importance and respect to them, and direct support and attention to the scientific organizations themselves. I hope we can work together to achieve this, and I would like the Arab information media to take part by giving more coverage and attention to Arab intellectual activity.

An Arab Astrolabe

[Question] What personal items are you taking with you on this trip, as has been the custom among astronauts on shuttle flights?

[Answer] There is a limited weight which each astronaut is entitled to carry with him, such as personal items and necessities. I intend to take with me 22 flags representing 155 million Arabs. Among other things, I will also take an Arab astrolabe with me.

[Question] Why the astrolabe?

[Answer] Few of us know that the Arabs played a prominent, important role in space sciences. The space sciences we see today are the continuation of old astronomical studies, the foremost ones being Arab studies. The astrolabe is an Arab invention and is a complex, advanced example of what we had attained at that time. The Arabs not only invented the scientific method as a basis for hypothetical theories, but they were the ones who transformed astronomical studies into a science based on mathematical calculations. They set up a network of four main astronomical observatories to observe the heavens, from Samarkand to Andalusia. History attests to our aspirations and efforts to transcend the world seven centuries ago, and it is in our power to return to the age of Arab creativity. Thus the astrolabe is a symbol of the hope that I spoke of earlier.

Stages of Training

[Question] How did you do in the various stages of training over the last 3 months, especially since you were working with team members who had gone through lengthy training sessions before you?

[Answer] The space crew included two specialists in space vehicles--the commander of the team and his assistant. Because each one of us had a definite assignment, most of my training concentrated on my ability to carry out my assignment.

I also went through training on how to handle the shuttle during flight. My familiarity with flying planes with jet engines was a great help in accelerating the training courses connected with this aspect.

We all went through rigorous training courses, some of which lasted 14 hours a day. Part of this training dealt with the shuttle, which represents the culmination of complex technology. The ship has more than 2,000 buttons and dials, some of which we have to know because we will be using them right away, some of which we might need to use in case of emergency, and others which we have to know even though we won't be using them.

Emergency

[Question] It has been said that the emergency training is the hardest. How did you all do on it?

[Answer] This was one of the most important training courses, and we had to pass it successfully. In fact, the results achieved by all our team members were more than satisfactory, and in some sessions were excellent. As you know, training in how to get out of the shuttle in case of emergency, God forbid, is most sensitive, and demands a high degree of speed and performance. For this reason, this training was carefully monitored by NASA experts. During one such session, the commander of the training team gave us the signal to get out immediately, and our team achieved a record 2 seconds better than the previous world record set for such training. The team which had achieved that record consisted of only four persons, while our team consists of seven persons. I achieved second place in this exercise, after the team commander.

[Question] On its last flight, "Discovery" had a risky landing. Do you feel that there will be any dangers during this flight, and are you uneasy about it?

[Answer] First of all, I believe in fate and destiny, so this answers the second part of your question. As for the riskiness of the flight, the shuttle and its support system was designed in a way which relies largely on extremely advanced technology. The smooth operation of all its equipment is checked through electronic testing, and the go-ahead signal is not given until they are all proven sound. There are five computers which check the equipment, and the green light must be received from all of them for the shuttle to take off. However, there are still dangers in any operation which requires such terrific

speed, which reaches 17,500 miles per hour in orbit. The shuttle is subjected to intense heat which at the extremities of the shuttle exceeds 1,260 degrees centigrade. For any number of reasons there is the possibility of danger, but my trust and faith in God is great.

Why Participate?

[Question] Don't you feel that we don't need to participate in space programs and technology at the present time, especially since we are just beginners in science compared to the Americans and the French?

[Answer] This is what we were told at first--that we are not yet qualified to enter advanced fields, and that we have to start where Europe started 40 years ago. The answer to that is that we reject such logic. There is no condition that you start out in science from zero. On the contrary, the assumption is that you take up science where it left off. Naturally, we must step up our efforts to create more scientific organizations so as to achieve more production within our own environment, and we must create the infrastructure necessary to achieve that.

Space technology does not necessarily involve studying distant stars, but also implies studying the earth itself in space. Prospecting for ground water and mineral resources, studying atmospheric conditions, transmitting information by satellite, and utilizing space technology for industrial and medical purposes all constitute the apex of scientific achievement. These sciences serve the industrial nations, which account for 20 percent of the earth's population. Therefore, we must not start with the steam engine, but must enter the gates of science at that point which is most important to us. The Arab world urgently needs to obtain information about the earth's water and natural resources. In some areas, the head of the family may spend hours walking around looking for water, while the shuttle takes about 8 minutes to leave the earth's surface.

[Question] Do you believe that you are making history?

[Answer] If you want the truth, the only thing that concerns me is carrying out my assigned mission. History is not made by individuals but by nations. I am the product of my nation, and we are all proud of its attempts to move ahead. It is also important that we not speak of history so much as concern ourselves with the future. Instead of looking backwards, we must always look forward to the horizon.

[Question] Is it true that you had a disagreement with your family members about going on the mission, because of its danger?

[Answer] That is not true, and the proof is that ever since I began flying, aviation itself has been dangerous in my view and theirs. Nevertheless, I received complete encouragement from my father, mother and the other members of my family, and I hope that they will think well of me.

[Question] What do you want to do when you return? Do you intend to devote yourself to space?

[Answer] As an employee, I have specific tasks to perform once I return, such as writing reports about the flight and submitting myself to follow-up examinations. After that, I will let things take their course as my job demands. I might return to my job at the Information Ministry and resume my work with the Arab satellite.

8559

CSO: 4404/393

SAUDI ARABIA

STRICT CONTROL INSTITUTED OVER STOCK MARKET

London AL-HAWADITH in Arabic 14 Jun 85 p 54

[Article: "Strict Control Over Saudi Stocks"]

[Text] The Kingdom of Saudi Arabia's new regulations for stock circulation, which were instituted by a ministerial commission charged with drawing up guidelines for these regulations, demonstrate that the Suq al-Manakh experience is still fresh in the minds of legislators and officials throughout the Gulf.

The new regulations for stock circulation include strict official control over buying and selling, and restricts stock brokerage services to licensed Saudi banks. Furthermore, the new regulations prohibit any transaction without bank brokerage, unless the transaction is directly between buyer and seller.

In order to avoid any massive speculation, the regulations prohibit the banks from dealing in stocks for themselves unless with permission from a special ministerial commission in charge of supervising circulation and overseeing the application of official directives and guidelines. This commission will consist of two delegates each from the Ministry of Finance and National Economy, the Trade Ministry, and the Saudi Arabian Monetary Agency [SAMA].

The regulations require the establishment of a "central circulation unit" at the Riyadh offices of each bank, and restrict work in these units to bank-appointed brokers who must be Saudi citizens. These brokers are prohibited from stock transactions for themselves or for their first-degree relatives. Stock transactions on credit are also prohibited.

The regulations have a provision limiting the commission the banks pay to the stock market regulatory commission to a percentage of the market value of the stocks involved in the transaction, not to exceed 1 percent. It is also stressed that in the event of a sale, the "stock purchase order" must be insured up to the maximum price the agent wants to pay, and the "stock sale order" must be insured up to the minimum price the agent will accept. Otherwise, the bank may be authorized to sell at the "best price."

In order to ensure official control over circulation, the regulations call for the establishment of a special clearing house at SAMA, which will have exclusive control over the exchange of documents pertaining to stock transactions. This office would process sold stocks within 2 working days from the date of sale, and would deliver certificates to the purchasers within 2 weeks of the sale.

The only stocks which will be accepted on the circulation market will be shares in joint stock companies which were established by official decree from the Minister of Trade. These companies must also publish detailed information on their financial position and investment activity in two daily newspapers within 2 months of the end of each quarter. The ministerial commission will apply the penalties provided for by corporate law against any company which violates these provisions, and the circulation of its stock will be suspended.

8559

CSO: 4404/393

UNITED ARAB EMIRATES

DEVELOPMENT EXPENDITURES IN FIRST QUARTER IN ABU DHABI

Dubayy KHALEEJ TIMES in English 20 Jul 85 p 3

[Text]

AS the area of land cultivated around Al Ain is steadily growing, there is an increasing problem of obtaining enough long-term water for cultivation.

Statistics released by the Agricultural Department in Al Ain record a doubling of land cultivated between 1979 and 1983, from 43,000 dunums up to 82,668 dunums.

This increase is matched by an increase in the number of farms from 980 in 1979 to 1,939 in 1983, and an increase in afforested land from 10,617 hectares in 1978 to 13,433 hectares in 1983.

However the supply of water to maintain this growth and keep the existing cultivation in good shape is a subject for concern in Al Ain. One recent report states that the water drawn from the wells in the region is more than the annual replenishment of subsoil reserves from the rainfall.

Rainfall main source

This report was in a study by Dr Ibrahim Saqr, hydrological expert at the Court of the Ruler's Representative in the Eastern Region, in which he covered

the water resources of the Arab Peninsula.

The report also made the point that most of the subsoil water reserves in the UAE come from rainfall, and that the reserves are falling. One private company in Al Ain specialising in irrigation has had considerable experience in the field and one of their experts spoke on the phone yesterday to the Khaleej Times.

He said that the present use of subsoil water is drawing down the reserves available, particularly in view of the dry winters the country has had in the last two years.

Recycled water

He said that much greater use of recycled water would improve the situation, and in the future he thought that increased use of desalinated sea water would have to be undertaken.

But in spite of this underlying problem, he admired the achievements of the last ten years, which had seen Al Ain's agriculture grow from very small traditional farms to widespread modern farms, including some substantial agribusiness concerns.

CSO: 4400/213

UNITED ARAB EMIRATES

AGRICULTURE STATISTICS IN AL 'AYN

Dubayy KHALEEJ TIMES in English 14 Jul 85 p 3

[Text]

DURING the first quarter of this year, Dh922.4 million was spent on development projects in Abu Dhabi out of the allocated sum of Dh5,000 million, according to a report published in the Arabic daily Al Ittehad yesterday.

Quoting a planning department report, the paper said the spending during the corresponding period last year stood at Dh860.8 million out of the total allocation of Dh5,250 million. In terms of percentage, the spending this year was 18 as against 16 in the preceding year.

In the first stage of the signed contracts, Dh910.5 million was spent out of the allocated amount of Dh4,711 million, which comes to 19 per cent. In the second stage, Dh11.9 million (four per cent) was spent out of a total of Dh283.9 million. The allocation for the third stage was Dh4.5 million.

According to the report, the total estimated cost of the projects of the 1985 development programme is Dh41.1 billion. The volume of contracts is shown as Dh20.9 billion and the allocation as Dh5 billion.

In percentage, the department-wise allocations are: public works—22.6, water and electricity—23.3, municipality and city planning—30 and others—24.

The ratio of execution, amount-wise, are: Dh289.9 million (26 per cent) from a total of Dh1,133.1 million for the public works department, Dh201.8 million

(17 per cent) from a total of Dh1,165 million for the water and electricity department and Dh329.1 million (22 per cent) from a total of Dh1,500 million for the municipality and city planning department.

The Al Ain municipality and agriculture department spent Dh58.2 million (12 per cent) out of a total allocation of Dh484.9 million and the Ministry of Information and Culture Dh16.9 million (12 per cent) out of Dh108.6 million.

The ratio of execution, money-wise, in the second stage during the first quarter of the year stood at Dh11.9 million (four per cent) out of the total allocation of Dh283.3 million.

The actual expenses in the first three months of this year stood at Dh922.4 million as against Dh860.8 million in the corresponding period last year. The monthly average spending this year was Dh307.4 million as against Dh286.9 million in the preceding year. In terms of percentage it comes to 18 this year as against 16 in the preceding year.—Wam

CSO: 4400/213

UNITED ARAB EMIRATES

BRIEFS

INFILTRATORS, LAW VIOLATORS ARRESTED--Dubayy, 14 July (GNA)--The Dubai emirate police arrested 45 Iranian infiltrators, including 9 women and 7 children, who tried to land on the Dubai coast in the past 2 days. The Labor Investigation Department at the Ministry of Labor and Social Affairs, in collaboration with the Dubai police, yesterday arrested 14 residence law violators, mostly Asians, during an investigation campaign in Dubayy. [Summary] [Doha GNA in Arabic 0720 GMT 14 Jul 85 GF]

FIRING SQUAD EXECUTIONS--Two men were publicly executed by a firing squad near the new prison in Al Ain at 10 am yesterday for murdering two people in separate incidents. Their appeals have been rejected by the supreme court in Abu Dhabi and the death sentences confirmed by the president. Their bodies were sent to the Al Jimi Hospital morgue. These were the first executions by firing squad in Al Ain since 1970. [Excerpts] [Dubayy KHALEEJ TIMES in English 19 Jul 85 p 1 GF]

CSO: 4400/206-F

AFGHANISTAN

WORKERS RECEIVING VOCATIONAL TRAINING

Kabul KABUL NEW TIMES in English 4 Jul 85 p 2

[Text] The cultural policy of the DRA which is based on the principles of science and technology, is aimed at training young professional cadres for construction of the new society in the country.

One of the cultural gains of the DRA is the establishment of technical and vocational schools in the framework of the Ministry of Higher and Vocational Education.

These schools were set up according to the instructions and resolutions of the Council of Ministers of the DRA after the new and evolutionary phase of the Revolution.

The ability and professional skills of the young generation are reared in these schools. National cadres as expert workers are being trained there.

So far, 8 such schools have been set up in Kabul and other provinces of the country and deserving students have been enrolled there, one of such schools is No. 8 Technical and Vocational School.

Talking about the activities of the school the Principal of the school said, "Technical and Vocational School No. 8 was set up by Afghan experts with the help of the Soviet Union in the building of Kabul Technicum.

"The school was established in October 1984 and over 60 students, graduates of the 6th, 7th, 8th, 9th, 10th forms were enrolled in different departments. In the year 1985 over 75 students were admitted to different departments of the school.

"Students of the school receive food allowance.

"It is considered to increase the number of the existing departments of the school in the near future".

CSO: 4600/548

AFGHANISTAN

NATIONWIDE ATTEMPT TO DEVELOP LITERARY TALENTS

Kabul KABUL NEW TIMES in English 3 Jul 85 p 4

[Text] The first nation-wide conference of the young writers of the DRA was held in October 1983 with the participation of young poets and writers of the country.

In the message of Babrak Karmal, General Secretary of the PDPA CC and President of the Revolutionary Council of the DRA, on the occasion, the tasks of the association were determined as follows:

"The Association should rear the young generation, forerunners of the literature and progressive culture of the country. Our young writers are the upholders of the cultural treasures and followers of the best literary traditions. They are the admirers of the work and struggle of the masses and drawers of the picture of great epics of their revolutionary fervor.

"The Association of the Young Writers should nurture the monolith and powerful ranks of our future writers through their precise and correct organising work. The work of this association should expand parallel to the revolutionary course of our society. It should ensure the growth of the talents of every nationality and clan of the country and try to uphold the rich treasures of the past literature of our peoples".

After the convening of the nation-wide conference the Association of Young Writers was founded during a grand conference in Kabul city. Its Central Council was formed and the Presidium of the Central Council was elected.

After the establishment of its Central Council, the Association of Young Writers resorted to formation of literary associations in schools and cultural centers under a regular plan.

Up to now, over 13 literary associations in Kabul city and five provincial councils have been set up where about 600 young poets and writers are mobilised. The work of the Association cannot be briefed by formation of literary associations and admitting individual members. Since the Association acts in line with the policy of the DRA Union of Writers and functions as a center for rearing the literary talents as well as professional and ideologic school for the young writers of the country, hence it organises

all the literary activities of the youth. It also nurtures and directs the young talents in the interests of the revolution and disseminates the works of the young poets and writers.

Keeping in view the tasks set forward in the message of Babrak Karmal, and documents of the nation-wide conference the association has held a number of poetry and story recital functions and continues this activity which gives the opportunity to the youth of various nationalities to present their works.

The literary associations hold contests in a bid to help upgrading the professional knowledge of the youth. The valuable role of this kind of work by the Mariam Lycee is worth mentioning. Among other experiences of the Association, one can name discussions of books and putting the works of youth for critics to periodic and extraordinary sessions.

The other issue to be emphasized is that the Association has done a great deal for enriching the professional knowledge of its members.

Since the possibility of holding short-term courses is not available, therefore, lectures given by the instructors of the Faculty of Letters of Kabul University are organised for the association.

Such lectures held in Mariam, Malalai, Habibia, Estiqlal, Amina Fedawi, Ariana and Zarghoona lycees are given by Akram Osman, Raziq Roin, Wasif Bakhtari, Jalal Noorani, Dr. Jawid and others. This process has brought good results and has been satisfactory for the members of the association.

Meetings with cultural workers and acquaintance with renowned literary personalities constitute another sphere of the work of the Association because acquaintance with the men of letters, the world-outlook and their works are most instructive and even necessary for our youth.

Due to the interest of the youth in such functions and their requests in this regard, it is decided to hold functions, getting acquainted with the works of Khushal Khatak, Rahman Baba, Mawlana as well as of foreign writers such as Gorki, Sholokhov and others.

Serious work is under way among the young poets and writers from various nationalities aimed at developing their talents. The sense of friendship with the Soviet Union and interest in the Soviet culture, poetry and arts is getting strengthened among the members of the Association. The spirit of friendship and internationalism has been vastly reflected in the works of most of the young writers.

CSO: 4600/548

AFGHANISTAN

LAND, WATER REFORM CONTINUES

Kabul KABUL NEW TIMES in English 3 Jul 85 p 4

[Text] Kabul (BIA)--Distribution of land and water to landless peasants is the backbone of the party and state program in Afghanistan.

Currently, this program has transformed into a countrywide scale. Facts and figures in the Afghan mass media indicate that there is hardly any day when growing numbers of peasants do not receive their land quotas.

In this series, more than a hundred landless peasant families in Kunduz Province, North of the DRA alone were given land-ownership documents.

Another 120 landless peasants in Khawaja Ghar district, North of Afghanistan received their land title deeds.

So far, the party and the state of the DRA in their countrywide program of land and water reforms, have succeeded to distribute more than 600,000 hectares of land free of charge and over 60,000 land title deeds to more than 300,000 peasant families.

Alongside the distribution of land and water, sufficient supplies of chemical fertilizers, improved seeds and state long-term credits as well as agricultural implements and machineries are being supplied to the peasants.

CSO: 4600/548

AFGHANISTAN

KABUL CONSTRUCTION ACTIVITIES EXPANDED WITH HELP OF USSR

Kabul KABUL NEW TIMES in English 1 Jul 85 pp 1, 2

[Text] Kabul Construction Complex plans to broaden the scope of its construction activities. An agreement was recently concluded between the Complex and the Technostori Export Company of the Soviet Union on supply of equipment for the Bibi Mahro Microrayon project. Based on this agreement, the Soviet Union would supply equipment worth of 1.3 billion Afghanis on a long term credit based to the Afghan side. It would help completion of Bibi Mahro Microrayon project.

Abdul Hamid Rawufi, President of the Complex, said in an interview touching on the development plan of the Complex that the Complex is one of the biggest which plays a valuable role in supplying residential apartments for our countrymen.

Strict attention has been paid to the Complex after the victory of the April Revolution and its new phase with the aim of providing shelter for our people.

Bearing this aim in mind, the expansion work of the Complex was started in 1980. After a year and a half, the production capacity of the Complex was promoted to 51,000 sq.m area and its reinforced concrete capacity to 37,000 cu.m. The Complex is now employing its full capacity. It builds annually 840 apartments. The expansion plan of the Complex was started in 1984.

With the execution of this plan the capacity of the Complex covering an area of 51,000 sq.m would be raised to 100,000 sq.m and its reinforced concrete capacity from 37,000 cu.m to 73,000 cu.m.

Since necessity was felt for equipment and construction materials for the expansion of the Complex, a Soviet delegation came to Kabul some time ago to study the Complex and its production capacity. The basic designs in this respect would be completed and put at our disposal.

On receiving the materials and equipment according to the aforementioned agreement, the Complex would start building 50, four-five storeyed blocks. The residential area would also have other necessary establishment such as policlinics, cultural and public utility and centers, a school and a market. The cooperation of the Soviet experts in expansion affairs of the Complex and training technical cadres is also mentioned in the agreement.

With a view to train its cadres by its own, the Complex opened a professional school at the end of the last Afghan year (ended March 20, 1985). Currently, 190 students study at this school and it is considered to expand the school in the near future. By so doing, the number of students would be increased to 480. The workers of the Complex consciously stand in the ranks of self-defence groups. As many as 47 literacy courses are being run in the Complex. Twenty workers of the Complex could win during the last year the medals of honesty and letters of merit of the PDPA CC and that of Kabul Municipality.

Jan Ali, a foreman of the outside walls section of the Complex, said that he was among the founders of the complex. He has a 22 year record of work in the complex. He has won the medal of honesty and the experts of the friendly USSR have given him a labour diploma due to his worthy services. He has also been awarded cash bonus for 24 times.

When he learned about the agreement between the friendly Soviet Union and the Housing Construction Complex, Jan Ali said, "I had a strange feeling. Now, our revolutionary state is for the prosperity of our people more than ever in the past. As soon as we could supply the construction materials for realizing the expansion of the Microrayon and Bibi Mahro projects we would then feel peace of mind. Our people would have shelter and our city would be decorated with beautiful residential blocks within some 10 years."

Atiqullah, Secretary of the DYOA branch in the Complex stated that with the completion of the residential blocks of Bibi Mahro Microrayon project Kabul city would get a new view. The shelter problem of our people will be met to some extent. It is the aim of the revolution to provide our people with residential modern apartments. We spare no efforts for realising this aim.

Mohammad Amin, a worker with 21-year experience worker of the complex said that they try their best for providing our people with shelters in a shortest possible time. [as published] He is also a member of the self-defence group of the Housing Construction Complex.

CSO: 4600/549

AFGHANISTAN

IMPROVED SEEDS EXPECTED TO RAISE AGRICULTURAL YIELD

Kabul KABUL NEW TIMES in English 2 Jul 85 p 2

[Text] For raising the productivity level of the agricultural crops in the country, more than 4,950 tons of improved wheat seeds as well as 4,000 tons of improved cotton seeds and more than 200 kg of vegetable seeds were distributed during the spring sowing campaign. The Improved Seeds Company is responsible for supplying the peasants with improved seeds in order to raise the production level of agricultural yields. The production plan of the Company for the current year is 20,000 tons of improved wheat seeds. From this quantity, 7,000 tons are produced at the Company farms and the rest will be purchased from the individual farmers, cooperatives under special transactions and after cleaning, packing and special treatments with pesticides will be given to the farmers on easy terms. Meanwhile, 6,000 tons of cotton seeds will be put at the disposal of the cotton growers of the country in this year.

The Seeds Company has four seeds propagation farms with an area of 6,460 hectares, equipped with modern machinery and equipment such as tractors, vehicles, thrashers, seeds cleaning equipment, gin and press units, seeds quality control units, godowns, workshops, and others. The propagation and production activities of the Company is mostly concentrated at Tarnak farm in Kandahar, and Sarda farm in Ghazni Province. Improved cotton seeds are chiefly produced at Urte Bellaqi farm in Kunduz Province.

To increase vegetable production in Kabul and surrounding provinces the Improved Seeds Company has worked out production of improved vegetable seeds which will be distributed this year to the vegetable growers in those areas. Tomatoes, egg plants, okra, onions, raddishes and others are planted at three Kabul farms for propagating vegetables of better quality in the country. The company has in its future plans to introduce seeds technology in the country and certify seeds according to the national and international standards. To have certified and guaranteed seeds, it is necessary to inspect regularly the production site, clean the seeds properly, analyse the seeds contents and quality in the laboratory and thus be able to propagate the seeds.

For attaining improved seeds the Company will establish eight quality controlling laboratories with the cooperation of the FAO in eight provinces of

the country. Two laboratories are right now functioning in the country which were opened from the credit of the Soviet Union, and another one is also opened at Darulaman area. The latter was established from the aid rendered by the United Nations. To have fresh vegetables during cold seasons in Kabul, a greenhouse will be built in Kabul with the cooperation of the FAO. A vegetable processing unit will also be installed by the same organisation in Kabul city.

CSO: 4600/549

IRAN

IRNA RECALLS U.S. RESCUE MISSION 'FIASCO'

LD211918 Tehran IRNA in English 1829 GMT 21 Jul 85

[Text] Tehran, July 21, IRNA--The scene is Iran's territorial waters at the Persian Gulf with America's aircraft carrier "Nimitz." Up fly the troop transport planes and support helicopters from the "Nimitz" battleship to a rendezvous with giant-planes flown minutes earlier from bases in the Oman Sea. Their next destination? An abandoned air strip in a remote area towards the central areas of Iran. Their mission? To rescue captured American spies in Iran who were working here under the disguise of 'diplomats.'

Well, perhaps even the masterminds behind the rescue mission did not themselves believe in the success of the plan. Perhaps deep in the bottoms of their hearts they could imagine that even though the U.S. invasion force should manage to reach Tehran the sons of America would be drowned in a sea of their own blood.

Nevertheless the masterminds of the plan had given it their go-ahead since they did not think solely in terms of the success or failure of one single rescue attempt but rather were addressing themselves to the more significant task of terrorizing the aspirations of a rising nation in a bid to win themselves some sort of a quasi-prestige in the region relying solely on their capacity to intimidate and bully their prey nations.

The mission, however, ended in a fiasco amid storms of sand at which the helicopters of the rescue team crashed, burying in their burned scraps the charred bodies of some of the mission members thousands of miles away from their home towns, the remaining aircraft immediately headed back to the southern borders of Iran in a hasty return home.

The mission of the American terrorists ended in a fiasco in a desert near the Iranian city of Tabas to be remembered for ever in the future as a typical example of the total failure of a plot by a big power against a weaker nation. As far as pertains to the attitude of Washington the incident was apparently too insignificant to serve it a lesson for all time in the future.

The big powers allowing themselves to have interests in this or that part of the world customarily feel free to safeguard those interests by resorting to whatsoever means including force intimidation, and bullying of other nations. Terroristic maneuvers are the commonest tool in the hands of terroristic

governments such as the U.S. for safeguarding their asserted interests in the many parts of the world, the terrorist operations preventable only after radical changes in the policies of these governments.

'Deh-Khoda' the comprehensive Persian Encyclopedic Dictionary defines "terrorism" as "political assassination." In dictionaries of political terms the word is defined as "a series of actions by a government or a political group aimed at creating terror in the people for the purpose of maintaining power or fighting with a ruling government." In the modern world the word "terrorism" has acquired new meanings and implications which are the result of complicated terroristic operations.

After the Second World War the European colonialistic governments finding themselves incapable of going on with their previous colonialistic policies turned to terroristic measures for safeguarding their interests in other parts of the world.

The increasing knowledge of the world people about their own basic freedoms and their measures for attaining their denied rights in their fight with the ruling world powers as well as the growth of liberation movements and a mass enthusiasm for Islam and the growing power of Muslims in the strategic regions of the world such as in the Persian Gulf and the Middle East and North Africa has further instigated the imperialism to resort to the various categories of terrorism among them military encounters, economic sanctions, political and propaganda invasion. The world imperialism always defines its terroristic acts in terms of operations in defence of the free world, defending its own vital interests and even fighting terrorism itself.

The world imperialism exploits the international news agencies as a lever for its propaganda campaigns. Using their complex machinery and also exploiting the principles of social psychology and sociology the news agencies manipulate public opinion throughout the world introducing liberative movements as acts of terrorism while they try to legitimize military attacks against Grenada, Nicaragua, Tabas (Iran), and Vietnam and other countries while also maintaining total silence where and when they should say something in the interests of the freedoms of the people and the rights of the masses.

In 1982 the Zionist regime (of gods) took advantage of chaotic conditions pursuant to the 1982 international cup scandal and getting help from the Western governments among them the United States, Britain, France and Italy occupied southern Lebanon and massacred thousands of civilian Palestinians in the villages of Sabra and Shatila. Earlier on the Zionists had killed many more people among the peasant and civilian population of the villages of Dayr-Yassin and Kafar-Qassem while at the same time the operatives of the U.S. Government killed more and more Muslims by placing time bombs in Mosques. As all this was happening no one single person dared say anything about terrorism being perpetrated by those governments.

But when the wronged Muslim people of Lebanon decided to wage a struggle against the occupiers of their lands by engaging in self-sacrificing operations the international media instigated by the big powers described the acts as examples of terrorism.

None of the Western media have so far condemned the Zionists' abduction and imprisonment of a group of 735 Lebanese. They also remained silent about the news of 28 aborted attempts against the lives of leading Nicaraguan officials by the U.S. Government.

At the time being the world imperialism on top of it, the United States, is trying to legitimize its use of terroristic stratagems in the world and has been trying hard to prevent the topic from being brought up in the international fora as an objectionable act of the bullying world powers....

The big powers will continue to label the nations rising for attaining their rights as groups of terrorists, and will exploit the most barbaric terroristic tactics against those nations. The Islamic Republic of Iran is the one country which has most suffered from the terroristic acts of the imperialist governments since the culmination of the Islamic revolution in Iran.

Nonetheless the Islamic Republic has already passed the climax of terroristic acts against itself, and despite the expectation of the Western observers the terroristic acts have only served to strengthen the Islamic Government. For the same reason, however, the Islamic Republic should be ready to confront other forms of terrorism. Whatever the future brands of terrorism against the Islamic Republic may be, the world terrorist governments need only to be reminded that as far as is evidenced in the more recent events here and there throughout the world all acts of terrorism, even though proving to be successful for their immediate effects, are doomed to defeat in confrontation with the waking masses.

CSO: 4600/544

IRAN

U.S. STANCE ON TERRORISM VIEWED

LD131447 Tehran Domestic Service in Persian 0400 GMT 12 Jul 85

[Excerpts] In the name of God, the compassionate, the merciful. With the expansion of Islamic and liberation movements throughout the world and the difficulties which they have caused for the U.S. government, last week U.S. President Reagan, accused the five countries of Iran, Libya, Nicaragua, North Korea, and Cuba of backing terrorism. The countries named by Reagan are situated in African, Asian, and Latin American continents [as heard]; namely, continents which, despite rich resources, have peoples which are kept poor and backward and which have been the arena for the plunder of western colonialists for hundreds of years. Most countries in these three continents achieved their independence after World War II, but the struggle to achieve complete political independence is still continuing in most of these countries. While certain areas in these three continents are still ruled as colonies, the dependent regimes which rule over most of the countries in those three continents are the protectors of the plundering interests of America or other European powers. This issue has given rise to the anger of the nations against the domination of the aliens in the form of uprising and movements against their dependent regimes.

At the moment, most African countries are tense and inflamed. With the exception of a very few countries, the rest of them lack real political independence; and each of them is a victim of plunder by arrogant powers, especially America. In Asia, especially in the Middle East, various nations are trying to become masters of their own destiny; and in Latin America there are many popular movements whose aim is to achieve independence. In each of those regions the successful regional or international movements have been used as models by others and the experiences of those who have achieved success have been used by those who are in search of independence and freedom. As these movements are mainly against the plundering policies of American governments, most naturally these movements have created the greatest problems for that country; especially as these days by sending its military forces to various countries of the world America is confronting many nations face to face.

Reagan who cannot admit these realities and who also claims that America is the founder of civilization and democracy, has no option but to blame certain countries for these popular movements. Therefore, he accuses two countries from Asia, one country from Africa, and two countries from Latin America of supporting terrorism.

The former Hollywood actor who has confused the political arena with the gunslinging scenes from Western movies, has not been able to play his latest role well and has revealed many weak points. The first mistake is that Reagan has accused those countries of terrorism who have been in some form the victims of U.S. aggression and interference; and everyone is aware of Washington's plots to topple their governments. The second point is that he has singled out those countries who are confronting American threats against them. This American actor thinks that America has the power of life and death over all the countries of the world and is entitled to do anything it wishes in any part of the world.

On this basis, while by engaging in aggression against different countries of the world, America has threatened their independence and territorial integrity, Reagan describes the struggles of various nations against the interventionist policies of America as acts against civilization.

The third point which can be seen in Reagan's remarks, is his insistence that the five countries which he accuses of terrorism receive their orders from the Soviet Union. In fact, this American actor who is now carrying out his activities in the White House is trying to negate the genuine character of popular movements in the four corners of the world and to portray any anti-American move as a Russian incitement.

The fourth point which can be detected from Reagan's remarks is that what he regards as proof of terrorism of the countries which are against American policies are the main justification of the oppressed countries in their struggles against America. Reagan has claimed that because the five countries who allegedly support terrorism have declared war on America, America has the right to retaliate and to defend itself. Was it the Vietnamese people who defended themselves or was it America? Is it the Lebanese and Palestinian people who are defending themselves or is it America and Israel? It is clear to the whole world that America is the aggressor and the deprived nations are the ones who are engaged in defense. It is due to this very right of self-defense that the Islamic Republic of Iran supports the struggles of those people who are in captivity and who are enslaved and who have been attacked by world arrogance. This is why Iran has declared its support for the governments which are the victims of American aggression and regard self-defense as their legitimate right.

When the leaders of world blasphemy declare that America and Israel are in the front line of the struggle against terrorism, any other implausible claim by America becomes possible.

The most important issue behind Reagan's threats and accusations is America's desperation concerning the realities of the Middle East region. Reagan knows that as an all-pervasive reality the Islamic movement has threatened the plundering interests of the West in the region. As the Muslim masses wish to revive their independence and their Islamic glory there is no longer any possibility of Washington pursuing its aggressive policies. Reagan's government is faced with such a reality, and military power is not able to solve this problem for him; in the same way that in confronting the Islamic revolution of Iran Carter did not succeed and was defeated.

In our view, American problems and difficulties in the Middle East region do not end there. At the moment, in Lebanon Reagan's government is faced with the powerful Muslim movement in that country, and the anti-Zionist consequences of that movement are as yet unclear to America; so much so that the West is very worried about developments in Lebanon.

It should be noted that, following their devious policies, foreign radios often try to portray the all-pervasive Islamic movement in the Middle East and in the Muslim world as merely a Shi'ite movement. Although the Shi'ites have had an important and pioneering role in anti-arrogance movements and have a brilliant record in this respect; yet all the Muslims, whether Shi'ites or Sunnis, are trying shoulder to shoulder to revive the glory of Islam and the Muslims.

One of the measures adopted by the U.S. Government to increase the scale of its interventions in different parts of the world was the establishment of the Rapid Deployment Force after the victory of the Islamic revolution in Iran. These forces were given the task of defending the plundering interests of America in an area as large as the greatest part of the world of Islam, in case of any activity by the Muslims. Although the establishment of this force was the sign of the terrorist nature of the American Government and was the evidence of American intervention in the affairs of the Muslims, nevertheless, Carter's government went ahead with that task.

The U.S. Government and the U.S. President should realize this fact that the time for plundering nations and establishing colonial and unhealthy relations with countries which are deliberately kept behind has come to an end. In the 20th century when mankind has left behind great revolutions in every field, how is it possible to accept special interests for a country such as America which is situated beyond the seas in places in Asia or Africa.

[begin Khomeyni recording] America says she has interests in the region. Why should she have interests in our region? Why should the interests of the Muslims be regarded as American interests, and why should she have interests in this region? Why do none of these countries ask America what business she has got to come here and want to shape the destiny of the people of this region? Who do you think you are, and why have you come here? [end recording]

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IRAN

MUSAVI COMMENTS ON OIL, TERRORISM, IRAN-USSR RELATIONS

Tehran ETTELA'AT in Persian 9 Jul 85 p 2

[Interview with Prime Minister Mir Hoseyn Musavi by domestic reporters on 8 Jul 85; place not specified]

[Text] Prime Minister Musavi responded to questions in a meeting with reporters of the domestic press and mass media yesterday.

In this press conference, the prime minister spoke on various issues, including the presidential elections, the oil crisis, the oil revenues, relations with the USSR, the freedom of the press and other issues.

Yesterday, a summary of the statements of the prime minister was published. Today, you will read the details of this press conference.

Voice and Vision: The presidential elections are approaching and according to the communique of the Ministry of the Interior, the candidates will begin campaigning soon after they are nominated. Hence, will the government require another vote for the election of a president? Also, considering the imam's recent support of your government, can you please tell us what the government's responsibility will be vis-a-vis this support?

Prime Minister: According to the interpretation of Article 124 of the Constitution by the Court of Guardians, following the presidential elections, a new government must be presented to the Majlis and the Majlis must give this government a vote of confidence.

Concerning the imam's support for the government, I must say that the imam has always helped the government and certainly every government that serves the regime of the Islamic Republic, I am sure, will be supported by the imam. It is too soon to talk about the fate of the government after the presidential elections. However, whatever happens will be in the interest of the country.

In any case, any sort of support by the leadership will increase the responsibility of the organizations.

Voice and Vision: It appears that a conspiracy is underway to make the oil exporting countries of OPEC, the most important of which are the Third World countries, unable to reach their desired limit in production and prices. What is your opinion in this regard?

Prime Minister: The issue of OPEC is a long story. But it seems that at the present there is a lot of pressure to, in practice, take away the management of affairs from OPEC. At present, the oil production ceiling faces some difficulties. Also, various methods are discussed to prevent the violations of countries that sell more than their share. Of course, what is being paid attention to is the creation of world conditions in which the great powers play the main role. If this point is not paid attention to, usually no solution is found. They try through creating a climate, imposing pressure, importing oil from other sources in the market and creating a sort of alliance at the onset of the conference to destabilize the situation to, if possible, bring down the price of oil and destroy the unity of the OPEC members in order to set their industrial wheels in motion. In confronting such a situation, I think impromptu solutions are not useful, which the experience of the past few years will verify. On the contrary, if the roots of the problem are addressed and the OPEC countries are able to make stronger decisions in this area or, in other words, the OPEC members are able to impose their will on the industrial countries which consume the oil, then desirable results will be obtained.

The Effect of the Price of Oil on the Implementation of the Developmental Programs of the Country

ETTELA'AT: Considering the oil crisis and the events of the recent OPEC conference and also because the decrease in the price of oil will play an important role in the foreign currency revenues of the country, to what extent do you think this price decrease will effect the foreign currency revenues of the country and to what extent will this effect play a role in the implementation of the developmental and economic projects of the country?

Prime Minister: Last year, too, our oil revenues were less than what was projected and this issue affected the ceiling of government revenues. This year, too, considering the situation with regard to the oil market, the repetition of the past situation can be anticipated. For this reason, the government makes great efforts to take more steps towards reliance on the country's other financial resources. The issues of taxes and other revenues and economizing in terms of expenditures is being

discussed. In the long term, it seems that we have to create an economy without reliance on oil. Although it would be more desirable for us to sell oil and engage in expansive fundamental investments, at the present time, the conditions that are imposed on us because of the bad world oil markets force us to move more rapidly towards self-sufficiency and not relying on oil as the only source from which we can economically feed ourselves. Of course, it is anticipated that this year the composition of the government revenues, like last year, will be less dependent on oil, and that this decrease in dependence will be greater than last year.

The reduction of oil revenues and its effect on the implementation of developmental projects is inevitable. This effect can be seen in the current and developmental budgets.

It seems that a revision in developmental projects is necessary in order to emphasize smaller projects with more rapid and tangible returns rather than large projects, as, due to their need for currency, larger investments and later returns can be inflationary, even though in one sense they do create jobs.

We have prior experiences. For example, in 1353 [21 March 1974-20 March 1975], when the oil revenues of the OPEC countries increased and the same occurred in our country, for the return of the surplus revenues that were obtained from the sale of oil, it seemed that large projects began in the country upon the recommendation of the great powers. This is in addition to the theft and various kinds of plundering that took place.

These large projects and plans mainly resulted in large economic tension and inflation. Since these projects would not economically yield rapid returns, could not create a sound economy in the country, and were deeply dependent on world exports, they created a dependent economy in our country.

At present, in the implementation of the developmental projects, the tendency is mostly to emphasize our own projects and forces, to require less currency, to have more rapid returns and to mostly serve the oppressed in the society.

Concerning large projects, we hope that the government will gradually be able to begin projects with the help of the cooperatives and the private sector, without being engaged in this task exclusively.

ETTELA'AT:

The government offered four bills to the Majlis, including bills to increase taxes on every ton of cement, to collect taxes on leaving the country, to collect taxes from businesses, and to

collect taxes from the applicants for sightseeing and pilgrimage tours. These bills were offered to the Majlis at a time when the Council of Guardians had rejected them in the budget bill for the period 21 March 1985-20 March 1986. What was the reason for offering this bill again?

Prime Minister: At that time, the argument was that the above-mentioned bills were not proper legislative notes to the budget; it was argued that these bills should be offered separately to the Majlis, in which case the Majlis might ratify them. For this reason, after the ratification of the budget for the new year, the government tried to ratify these bills with a one-star priority and to offer them to the Majlis. God willing, they will be ratified by the Majlis. The ratification of these bills will help the government in a situation in which we cannot afford to be dependent on oil revenues.

ETTELA'AT:

Concerning the collection of taxes from businesses, in the past, also, certain decisions were made by the government. But these decisions faced certain problems in the implementary stages and did not work in practice. To what extent can the recent ratifications of the government have the implementary and legal support to collect taxes from businesses?

Prime Minister: I think the implementation of the ratification on the collection of taxes on businesses will have positive consequences. Of course, Note 16 of this year's budget ties the taxes of the various provinces with the developmental projects and plans of that province and the government thinks that the implementation of the ratification in question has created a change in the area of the collection of taxes, because the local forces and officials feel success will come from obtaining sound revenues in this way. Also, the officials of the provinces send certain plans in this connection to the government, which are very good plans. Recently, the implementary bylaws of this issue were discussed. Of course, there were problems which we hope will be eliminated. I think that the government has to engage in new methods. But real progress will begin when the issue of taxes is discussed, God willing, in a complete form in the Majlis. The views of the Majlis are expressed in this regard and then a devised and coordinated law is provided.

KEYHAN:

It is rumored that you will make a visit to the Soviet Union in the near future. To what extent is this rumor true, and might close ties with China possibly indicate a distance from the Soviet Union?

Prime Minister: As you said, my future visit to the Soviet Union is a rumor. There is no plan for a visit to the Soviet Union.

However, concerning the second part of your question, I must say, we have an independent policy based on our ideology and the values stemming from our Islamic revolution, on the basis of which our relations with other countries are determined.

In connection with the Soviet Union, we have constantly said that we have a long border with that country and we are interested in having good neighborly relations with that country. We are able to establish a sound relationship with that country. Naturally, we have fundamental differences on certain issues, such as the issue of Afghanistan, but, in regards to international relations, we are not inclined towards a one-directional movement which will determine our ultimate destiny and regulate the foreign policy of our country. At present, in relations with the Soviet Union, while the problems referred to exist for us, there are also other issues. In order to preserve good neighborly relations and expand economic relations, we must see a more appropriate reaction, and not see sophisticated Soviet weapons in the hands of the Iraqis. For example, in my recent visit to Esfahan, I saw that in the power plant that is being built by the Soviet experts, the fourth unit was supposed to be operational after some time and the power plant completed in a year, but the experts have left the area under the pretext of war. And all this is at summer time, when the weather is warm and we need electricity and energy more than at any other time. In any case, certain shortages occurred in that area, or their experts have left the steel mill. Of course, the experts and specialists are in control there; but, after all, our neighbor has certain commitments vis-a-vis these projects. They have built a foundry there. And since it was put into operation, its output has been much less than what was registered in the contract. Now, they must come and act on their commitments. All of these can affect our relations with that country. On the other hand, improper reactions to such issues can naturally create a mental state among our people and officials which would destroy the expansion of sound bilateral relations with the Soviet Union. I especially stress again the economic areas, because we have large projects with the Soviet Union. At present, the Ramin power plant and the Esfahan steel mill are empty of Soviet experts. Of course, this is a temporary situation, but on the whole, these conditions create problems for us, even though we have shown since the revolution that we are able to eliminate problems in the harshest and most critical circumstances by relying on our own expert forces. However, when we can work together under better conditions and without any problems, there is no reason to get ourselves involved in such problems.

SHAHED MAGAZINE: In some political circles, it has been said that Iran was somehow involved in the release of the hostages of the hijacked American airplane in Lebanon, whereas the spokesman of the U.S. State Department has said: We have no proof concerning the involvement of Iran in the release of the hostages. Can you verify the involvement of Iran in this connection?

Prime Minister: We do not carry out decisions and actions so that they can be verified or denied by U.S. officials. The clear position of our regime and government in this regard is that the roots of terrorism are in the United States and the countries that are established on the basis of force and world-devouring and are exported to other areas. If we take the number of the oppressed people who are trampled by these world devourers, we will see where the roots of unrest and terrorism are. Or, for instance, most unabashedly, the United States speaks of sending troops to Nicaragua, or sending troops to Granada with a small population and engaging in complete butchery.

All of these show that it is the actual center of terrorism. Consider Lebanon and the monstrous aggression of Israel on that country (of course, for the first time in 50 years they were severely defeated by the Islamic forces in that country) and then look for the center of terrorism in the world. Could it be found anywhere else but in the United States, Israel and similar places?

When these terrorist elements are defeated by the revolutionary forces, they take a group of ordinary people as hostages, and when the action has taken place in retaliation, they call it terrorism.

We have declared frequently that we oppose hijacking for humane reasons. Certainly, our position in this connection could be effective in the release of the American hostages of the hijacked airplane. In any case, before announcing our opposition to hijacking throughout the Middle East region and the world, we declare our opposition to true terrorism which is imposed by the superpowers on the Third World countries.

JOMHURI-YE ESLAMI:

It was recently decided that the public relations offices of the ministries and government organizations would take over the role of propaganda for these organizations. What will the role of the Islamic societies be in this connection?

Prime Minister: The activities of the public relations offices must be quite separate from the Islamic societies in the sense that Islamic societies have certain duties which cannot be

carried out by any means by the public relations offices, which are a part of the bureaucratic system of a ministry.

The Islamic societies are, in fact, gatherings for the ideological forces of a department in order to firmly establish the values of the Islamic revolution in their working environment. They are also the eyes and ears of the Islamic Republic against influences and conspiracies that may exist in our bureaucratic system. This is not a duty that the public relations offices can manage. So far, the brother officials in the ministries and the Cabinet have not wanted the public relations offices to replace the Islamic societies. Of course, the guidance term that has been added to the public relations offices may have created this misunderstanding. But I officially announce that the public relations offices can by no means carry out the duties of the Islamic societies and any step to weaken the Islamic societies is a step contrary to the Islamic revolution. On the other hand, we expect the Islamic societies to help the public relations offices to carry out their duties.

The Press and the Government

SHAHED MAGAZINE: Following the closure of SOBH-E AZADEGAN, you expressed your disappointment, but the newspaper continues to be closed. Considering this issue, the question is, What sort of executive support will exist for the press to continue their work so that some of them will not be faced with a problem such as that of SOBH-E AZADEGAN?

Prime Minister: Of course, I have expressed my opinion in this regard. The reason for my opinion was to explain what role the government had in this regard, and also in order to say that the government is prepared to listen to criticism and is not itself a complainant against the newspapers. Rather, it is thankful to the newspapers and essentially the mass media for their criticism. It is important for this issue to be clarified both in historical and social terms. In all countries, the executive branch usually tries to limit the activities of the newspapers, whereas in our country, on the contrary, the executive branch wants the newspapers to be freely active and critical. We believe that there are revolutionary forces in the newspapers who naturally write with compassion, provide reminders and also report our progress. Also, my statement shows that the issues that resulted in the closure of SOBH-E AZADEGAN are unrelated to the government. Of course, differences in taste may have contributed to this problem. Furthermore, there have been legal objections, and as far as I know, efforts have been taken to resolve this issue.

Meanwhile, it should be taken into consideration that when a complaint is registered with the judicial branch, that branch is

obliged to set the case in motion and bring it to a conclusion. The judicial branch has done so. However, the realities concerning the mass media in our country can make the judicial branch deal with this issue more decisively and rapidly, so that our newspapers can pursue their work with more enthusiasm and support.

ETTELA'AT: Do you think the problem of SOBH-E AZADEGAN and some of the other mass media in such cases is due mostly to the fact that still, after some years since the victory of the revolution, the place of the press in the regime of the Islamic Republic has not been determined due to the lack of a clear press law?

Prime Minister: I agree with you. In other words, the law will solve the problem to some extent, but it will not solve all problems.

In my opinion, the newspapers themselves have a role in determining their place in the system.

ETTELA'AT: However, since various tastes exist in the society, the newspapers will not be able to please all tastes; I must say, for all practical purposes, this would be impossible. But, if there were a press law, at least this law could be a strong support for the continuation of the work of the press on a legal basis.

Prime Minister: In my speeches, I have always pointed out that a person who works in the mass media has to be selective. Selectiveness is a sort of taking sides. Even when you want to print an ordinary report, you face a large amount of news; if you wanted to print it all, you would have to publish a 200-300 page newspaper.

But you make a selection of this mass of news, and selection is a kind of taking sides. For this reason, the idea that a newspaper or a reporter can be totally impartial is unrealistic. In the first place, we must give up the idea that a correspondent can be impartial. On the other hand, we believe that a correspondent in our country relies on the ideology and the ideology itself indicates the manner in which selections are made. In other words, it will free you from impartiality. All of these can make our reporters feel that they support a line and there are standards for them on the basis of which to look at the issues. However, discussing an issue in the society will always present certain problems. Every task is difficult. The difficulty of a technical task concerns solving technical problems and the difficulty of newspaper writing is in the interaction of the viewpoints with the social obstacles which naturally exist. In other words, we would be mistaken to suppose that there are no obstacles or hardships in the society. Reporters deal with

public opinion, with various political and social forces, and with various tendencies. Some of these tendencies are in line with the views of the reporter and some are not. All of this is a part of the daily life of a newspaper reporter.

Another point is that on the basis of accepting this reality, the reporters must try to clarify the place of newspapers in our regime. For example, at present, newspapers engage in reporting on good economic and social news. It will gradually become a firm idea that our newspapers prepare topics concerning a province and some of the important issues of the country such that these reports are given equal importance and affect the course of events as well.

For example, at present, ETTELA'AT is publishing various reports on provinces; KEYHAN is publishing reports on the shelters; or, sometimes newspapers publish articles on important political issues of the world and the country. The people follow these press reports intently. The larger the volume of these reports and the deeper they become, the more established the place of newspapers will become in our regime, and they will become less vulnerable because they will establish themselves as a beneficial component of the society and can no longer be easily tampered with. However, in connection with the daily political issues that can cause reactions against the newspapers, reporters must work more cautiously. This is not exclusive to our country. All countries face these problems.

One art that must be learned in the media is that one should speak in a way which would be in the interest of the regime he believes in, not harm the society, and at the same time, be instructive. This is something that newspaper reporters understand more than others.

In other words, he knows that he should present the issues in a way that cannot be used against him.

ETTELA'AT: The government has recently paid particular attention to the work of the public relations offices; however, the courses on this subject have been omitted from the curriculum of the college of communication sciences. Considering that increasing the activities of the public relations offices depends on training an experienced cadre, how will this shortcoming be eliminated in expanding the activities of the public relations offices?

Prime Minister: Incidentally, this issue was discussed in the last Cabinet meeting and it was stated that in order to make the public relations offices active, we must have specialized even highly specialized courses in this connection.

The reason for the issue being raised is something else. After the revolution, among the religious forces there was very little sensitivity towards cultural work. And there was a historical reason for it, because efforts had been made to bring all the artistic and cultural fields out of the realm of the Muslim forces and the Islamic forces had been isolated from such activities.

It is sufficient to look at ETTELA'AT and KEYHAN in the years before the revolution. You will see that the majority of the cadre of these newspapers consisted of the leftist groups, such as the Tudeh members as well as the right-wing groups, but there was no religious figure among them. There was not even one simple religious news reporter among them. With the victory of the revolution, we saw that there was a deficiency in this area. This deficiency was not merely due to a shortage of manpower. The religious officials as well, since they had not worked in this area, were indifferent to these issues. For this reason, we religious people have some problems. Of course, attention is paid to the humanities and their role in the development of the country. Also, the importance of the public relations offices and propaganda is looked at as the actual basis for the development of the country rather than as a tool, an organization to praise the regime.

At present, propaganda is about to find its place. All of these issues will, undoubtedly, also affect the curriculum of the universities. It would be appropriate here to mention some of the astonishing aspects of the imam's leadership. Despite his limited contact with the mass media, the imam has been and is most sensitive in regards to the mass media. This sensitivity existed from the beginning of the revolution and to a greater degree than with other officials of the country.

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IRAN

EMIGRE PAPER COMPARES, ANALYZES PAST, PRESENT REGIMES

London KEYHAN in Persian 25 Jul 85 pp 1, 3

[London KEYHAN weekly in Persian; founder and publisher Dr Mesbahzadeh]

[Text] The contemporary history of Iran cannot be understood and evaluated correctly unless we determine the value of the place of a man who passed away five years ago today, Mohammad Reza Shah Pahlavi.

Who was he? Was he a dictator who used any means of suppression without fear in order to preserve his personal power, as his sworn enemies have said? Or was he a sun which shone in Iran to brighten the world, as his eulogists have stated?

While he was in power, between the two rising waves of uncontrolled and irrational enmity, on the one hand, and boundless praise, on the other, one could hardly draw a relatively accurate picture of his personality. But now that he can be seen free of prejudgments before the eyes of history, the task is much simpler.

We do not know who the thinker was who said: "To judge a person, we must compare him with what was before and after him."

When he became a king, the country was in such a chaotic state that no one would want to become its leader. Mohammad Reza Shah had said at the time: "Ruling over a bunch of poor people is nothing to be proud of." This could be said about the Iran following late summer of 1941. But in the course of 4 decades, of which perhaps 15 years were spent on the implementation of developmental programs, Iran was by no means a country over which one could not be proud to rule.

We do not have much to say to those who claim that progress is a natural law and takes place in human societies in accordance with "historical necessity." We only point out that if this is so,

why have the gains of the past 50 years in the history of Iran been destroyed in the course of 6 or 7 years?

The development and construction of Iran would not have been possible without a persistent and constant struggle on all fronts: the struggle on the literacy and education front, which resulted in so many schools, universities and training schools; the struggle on the social front, which constantly brought welfare programs to a larger and more varied strata of the society; the struggle on the economic front that provided so many factories, industrial complexes and dams and which helped expand the electricity and water networks of the country.

Whether or not we agree, the implementation of these large programs that even the sworn enemies of the shah had to acknowledge are tied with the name of Mohammad Reza Shah. He saw many things at the time that others did not see. For example, he could see that so much hidden wealth in the Iranian soil and so many gains that had been obtained with the efforts of the Iranian minds and arms should not go unprotected. For precisely this reason, there was a need for significant defensive power, which would prevent the temptations of aggression in the minds of others. The events that have occurred in our calamity-stricken country clearly show that he was right.

We do not by any means intend to say that he was always right. Certainly, like other world leaders, he made some mistakes. A person who engages in small tasks makes small mistakes. Large mistakes are part of large undertakings. Who could imagine that the great and significant work that was accomplished in two decades could have been done by others even in the course of a century?

Correctly or incorrectly, Mohammad Reza Shah believed that speaking of democracy in terms of Western standards in a country in which the people do not yet enjoy sufficient cultural and scientific development is a "luxury" which should not deceive us. But at the same time, in the economic and industrial work that was carried out in the country, the Western standards were constantly used. This was perhaps the source of the creation of an imbalance in the changes in Iran, which, in economic, industrial and military terms, was becoming (had even become) a significant power, but in political terms, it had not reached the growth which was necessary for a developed society.

In any case, compared to what was before him, Mohammad Reza Shah is no loser, and compared to what followed him, he is a winner in every respect.

In the beginning, he sat on the throne as a shy and inexperienced young man. With the passage of time, he remained shy, but he had

gained valuable experience, which in a leader is considered a national treasure for a country.

His association with the great world politicians was always considered an advantage. He knew closely Roosevelt, Churchill, Stalin, Truman, de Gaulle, Eisenhower, Tito, Pompidou, Giscard d'Estaing, Brezhnev, and Ceausescu, in short, with the exception of Mao and Chou En-lai, all the important leaders of the world. Except for Churchill, who was hostile towards Iran, he looked at all of them with interest and respect and they also respected him. The late Anwar Sadat had a special place among these leaders.

Iran's international relations during the second Pahlavi monarchy were so expansive and multilateral that, except for Colonel Qadhdhafi's Libya, all countries of the world had reached an understanding with it. Even though the shah said that the Arabs, particularly the Palestinians, must regain their rights, he never supported the extremists who wanted to eliminate Israel from the geographic map.

His knowledge in oil affairs astonished and brought praise from the world oil experts. He was so knowledgeable about the changes in the arms industries and their progress that when they presented their goods, the arms dealers were always cautious not to exaggerate.

He was as insistent on obtaining the national rights of the country as he was in maintaining moderation. A significant example of his steadfastness and, at the same time, moderation can be seen in OPEC.

He clearly saw that rich oil reserves for a country such as Iran had provided a unique opportunity to once and for all come out of backwardness and dependence and to catch up with the developed and civilized countries, which were moving forward with an increasing speed.

He said: "Oil, with its nearly 70,000 byproducts, is a 'noble substance' which must not be used for fuel. Oil must, therefore, be used for worthy purposes and another solution must be found for fuel."

Obviously, this "noble substance" could not be only evaluated as a source of energy. For this reason, its value must be determined in relation with 30 other important and essential items and its price must change. But today, we see how an irresponsible regime puts this "noble substance" up for auction, selling it at the lowest possible price so that besides foodstuff and raw materials, it can purchase deadly weapons for a senseless war at the highest prices.

See the difference between the policies. The shah also bought arms. Perhaps he even bought more than was necessary. But today, they pay 10 times more than what they get. He wanted the country to be strong so that others would not nurture aggression in their hearts. Today, the country is so destitute that everyone is tempted to invade it.

But the Iran of the shah's time never used its military might to invade others. It was a power that awed its enemies but did not frighten them, and it gave only confidence to its friends. When he looked at the period of 37 years of rule, despite the excesses and even occasional ambition, he could not be unhappy. He had become the king of a country which had a valued place among the family of the nations of the world.

But he was not only a distinguished leader. As a person, he possessed characteristics that people consider to be good. He was kind. The ups and downs in the affairs of the country would create emotional ups and downs in him. He was upset when the affairs of the country were not organized and was happy when they were.

The judgments of others about him, from de Gaulle to Tito, Nixon to Indira Gandhi, certainly add another positive dimension to his personality.

He truly loved the people of his country. For this reason, he was upset at the slightest discontent of the people. He was compassionate and never begrudging. He frequently showed forgiveness to his enemies, as far as it concerned his own person, most generously.

He was a hard-working and disciplined man. He never stopped learning. It is said that Professor Barnard, the famous heart surgeon, was amazed by his knowledge of heart transplants.

But his kind heart would cause him at the height of glory to sometimes become so happy or sad, as if he were not a king but a happy or sad child. For this reason, despite all the power in his hands, his behavior was more mild and humane than that of many of the powerful people in history.

He deserved very much to pass away in the country in which he was born. But fate had something else in store for him. With the victory of the revolution, which brought nothing but misfortune for the people of the country, the great tragedy of his life began. The leaders of the countries in the world who one day climbed over each other to be given an audience with him, turned away from him. But among all those clouds that covered the sky of misfortune, only one figure shone, that of a man who was in

more danger than anyone else. He opened his arms to receive his old friend more widely than ever before. Long live Anwar Sadat.

These two names will pass the test of time. The Iranian nation is gradually realizing the value of what it has lost. On the day that the shah left Iran, his own eyes were filled with tears, but there were not many who wept for him. Yet, on the day that he passed away, the hearts of all Iranians broke. The news of the shah's death brought such muted sorrow to Iran; even the regime was not able to express joy.

10,000

CSO: 4640/661

IRAN

REGIME'S EFFORTS TO JAM BROADCASTS REPORTED

GF131808 (Clandestine) Radio Najat-e Iran in Persian 1630 GMT 13 Jul 85

[Text] According to the Radio NAjat-e Iran correspondent in Tehran, all-out efforts have been launched by Iran's post and telegraph authority and the Voice and Vision of the so-called Islamic Republic to jam frequencies of opposition radios to prevent their broadcasts from reaching inside the country. But despite widespread efforts, the regime so far has not been successful.

In this year's budget for the so-called Islamic Voice and Vision, 6 billion rials [\$60 million] have been set aside to purchase new transmitters to create disturbances and for jamming the nationalists' radios. Equipment for this purpose has been purchased from West Germany, Japan, and Italy at a cost of 1.4 billion rials. Despite this the regime has been unable to silence the voice of resistance inside the country.

The correspondent adds that a group from the post and telegraph authority and the Voice and Vision of the regime, headed by a person named Shahriar, recently traveled to West Germany and Great Britain to purchase 11 powerful radio transmitters for jamming purposes, plus several medium-sized radio transmitters for border areas. Several agreements were concluded in this regard.

One member of this group told our reporter in Europe: We have made a promise that until the end of this current year we will jam 17 radio broadcasts in Persian that the Ministry of Islamic Guidance has assigned to us, thus rendering them useless to listeners in Iran. Our efforts so far have been very fruitful.

The strengthening of border transmitters, especially in the western and northern parts of the country, is another of the aims of the so-called Islamic Voice and Vision. This is to combat the nationalist resistance elements who are engaged in a struggle against the criminal regime of the mullahs.

The Radio NAjat-e Iran correspondent concludes by saying: Jamming transmitters will be installed in the villages of Tavanshahr near Gorgan, Ahmadabad near Reza'iyeh [now called Orumiyeh], and the village of Darud near Marivan.

CSO: 4640/656

IRAN

ENERGY MINISTER URGES WATER, ELECTRICITY CONSERVATION

LD142018 Tehran Domestic Service in Persian 1630 GMT 14 Jul 85

[Text] The energy minister has asked all compatriots, considering the problems arising from the recent shortages, to save water and electricity as much as possible.

He has gone to Semnan Province, at the head of a delegation, to investigate water and electricity problems and inspect research projects related to water supply. In an interview with an IRNA correspondent he announced the request. Referring to the recent electricity shortages, he said: One reason for the existing shortages is the quick rise in electricity consumption. On the other hand, the problem has been exacerbated by the departure of foreign contractors who have left projects unfinished.

Expressing the hope that the contractors will return and complete the unfinished projects, he said: If they don't return the energy ministry with new planning will have to start-up these power plants.

Referring to the existing allocation for the water supply during the current year, he said: The total amount allocated for water for the country amounts to 72 billion rials a year. Of course, the requirements of our country for reaching self-sufficiency in agriculture is more than that amount. The necessary plans have been made for this matter.

He pointed out: during the recent trip by the Majlis speaker to China and Japan, talks were held regarding implementation of projects with the help of experts from those countries. This matter will be followed-up.

CSO: 4640-655

IRAN

BRIEFS

PRESIDENT SAYS ENEMIES 'CONCERNED' ABOUT COUNTRY'S ARMS PRODUCTION--Tehran, July 25, IRNA -- President 'ali Khamene'i told officials from the Ministry of Defence Thursday that the United States and the world arrogance could not yet comprehend the significance of the military equipments that the young pious Iranians were developing. The president said that in the early days of the imposed Iraqi war a group of government officials did not give enough attention to the purchase of military equipment and were only concerned with finding the necessary hardware in the warehouses. Khamene'i said although a change has occurred in the rank and file, but it was necessary for the military industries to move in the right direction and work harder than before. [sentence as received] He said although what is happening in our country might be small compared to the progress of the technological world, but [as received] the young generation of Muslim Iranians are showing the desire to think for themselves and to develop the equipment needed for the country. The president said the enemies of the Islamic Republic were greatly concerned about Iranians achievements in arms production and that the imperialists, including the United States, could not believe that progress was being made in this field. [Text] [Tehran IRNA in English 1310 GMT 25 Jul 85 LD]

ANNUAL TRADE WITH PRC TO DOUBLE--During the official visit and meetings between Hojjat ol-Eslam Hashemi-Rafsanjani, the speaker of the Majlis, and Beijing leaders, a memorandum of understanding was signed on expansion of economic, commercial and technical cooperation. According to the remarks made by the Iranian officials following the signing of this memorandum, in which the two sides have expressed desire for long term cooperation in such fields as dam and port construction and light fishing industries, it is expected that talks would start soon for implementation of the agreements. Also in the course of this recent visit it was agreed that the two sides should take some practical measures in order to realize the memorandum of understanding signed last Esfand [20 Feb 85-20 Mar 85]. On the basis of this memorandum, the two countries have agreed to increase their commercial transactions from \$260m to \$600m per year. [Text] [Tehran Domestic Service in Persian 0900 GMT 13 Jul 85 LD]

CSO: 4640/653

PAKISTAN

PAPER STRESSES NEED FOR MUSLIM UNITY

GF220916 Islamabad THE MUSLIM in English 14 Jul 85 p 4

[Editorial: "Muslim Summit: The Need of the Hour"]

[Text] Mr. Sharifuddin Pirzada, the Secretary General of the Organization of Islamic Conference has said that the question of Israel's nuclear capacity would be discussed in the next summit of Muslim heads of states. He has, however, given no indication of what exactly is to be done. One fervently hopes the summit will not confine itself to mere discussions, punctuated with lavish dinners, when action is the need of the hour.

What is apparent is that not much has been done to foster unity in the Muslim world and to heal divisions within the Islamic community. The purposes and spirit behind the ICO was admirably straightforward: Muslim solidarity. In this connection, the late King Faisal of Saudi Arabia played a commendable role which was successfully translated via the February '74 summit at Lahore. There, the fervour generated by the October '73 Arab-Israeli war was carried over in a remarkable display of unity, including reconciliation between the foes of 1971.

One would have thought that the Islamic Revolution of 1979 would have been welcomed. Instead, attempts were made within the Muslim world to derail it. Responsible or irresponsible Muslim elites cater to the West by giving a sectarian slant to issues to the detriment of the Muslim community and to the benefit of Muslim opponents. Israel, which destroyed the Iraqi nuclear plant, now benefits hugely from the continuance of the war launched against Iran nearly six years ago. Before Mr. Pirzada starts unleashing reams of paper in preparation for discussions on Israel's nuclear capability, he should as Secretary-General of ICO explain why so little has been done to work towards practical unity in Muslim ranks. Pirzada has yet to demonstrate the breadth of vision to do the needful.

The purpose of the ICO was not to create a showcase debating society, sustain discussion groups, or to issue lofty communiques. Its purpose was to unite the Muslim world against common dangers and structure a common strategy. After several rounds of meetings at all levels, it still remains a distant dream.

CSO: 4600/541

SRI LANKA

MRS BANDARANAIKE DISCUSSES ETHNIC ISSUE

BK191605 Colombo WEEKEND in English 7 Jul 85 p 1, 4

[Text] SLFP Leader Sirimavo Bandaranaike yesterday welcomed the government's move to be "More realistic" in maintaining relations with India.

In a statement on her return from Yugoslavia she said her party had always maintained that cordial relations with India should be a vital premise in any effort to reach a political solution to the ethnic crisis.

The text of Ms Bandaranaike's statement:

"When I left Sri Lanka on June 8, there was no evidence even after the Summit meeting in New Delhi, that terrorist activities would subside; and I had therefore thought it would be helpful if on my way home from Yugoslavia I stopped over in New Delhi to see if I could make any personal contribution to ease the tensions we were experiencing in this country on account of this human problem that has unsettled us for quite sometime.

"But since then, a situation that may be described as a cessation of armed hostilities has taken place; and I did not think it necessary to visit New Delhi at this stage. I am happy to note that there is another phase in the terrorist problem, with an attempt being made to talk over the matter and arrive at a peaceful solution.

"We have always maintained that cordial relations with India should be a vital premise in any effort to reach a political solution to this problem; and whatever may have been said and done in the past to befoul our relations with that country, it is only to be welcomed that the Government now appears to be more realistic in its appraisals.

"But here again we have to be cautious in deciding what is best for our country. A settlement must be a just settlement; just to the Sinhalese, the Tamils, and the Muslims. Devolution of power, decentralisation of administration are valuable concepts by themselves; but in the present situation, it is our belief that the real essence of any lasting solution should be justice, justice to all sections of our people; and we have to determine the steps that should be taken to ensure that people stop fearing and suspecting each other and decide to live together as friends to whom just opportunities for fulfillment and advancement are available within the system.

"If in this context any devolution of power is thought to be necessary, some question that would then become relevant are what is the proper unit of devolution? And what are the powers and functions that should be entrusted to such unit? And further, what are the mechanisms that should be devised to ensure that the unitary concept of the state remains unimpaired?

"It would therefore be our duty as a party to be closely watchful of, everything that is being done today in the discussions and the drafting of necessary laws, so that the vital interests of all our people are reserved, notwithstanding the fact that the present bargaining process began only after the irresponsible neglect of the government that led to the desecration of the scared city of Anuradhapura and the flight of the Sinhalese from the Trincomalee district in despair because the government did not protect them.

"We welcome the effort to reach a political solution; but we give no blank cheques; we shall ever be vigilant; and advise the people with the utmost responsibility on all matters that arise in this connection; for in our view it is our people, and not any others however respected and honoured, that must finally decide what is right and best for them.

"I would be very humble, therefore, to call upon every citizen of this country to be wide awake at this supreme moment of decision in its history; and think only of the interests of the people and the country before any considerations of person or party; and I am glad to be back at this juncture so that I can contribute whatever I can for the peace, stability and well-being of our people."

CSO: 4600/540

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